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SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,

AND THE

ADJOINING COUNTRIES,

FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

Who so shall telle a tale after a man,
He moste reherse, as neighe as ever he can,
Everich worde, if it be in his charge,
All speke he never so rudely and so large;
Or elles he moste tellen his tale untrewe,
Or feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS,
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY.

VOL. I.

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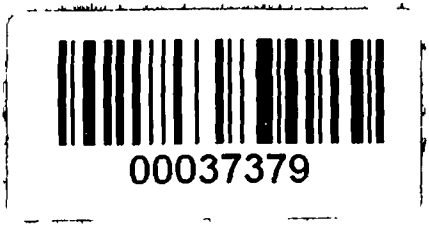

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWARD THURLOW,

BARON THURLOW OF ASHFIELD IN THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK,
LATE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN,
&c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE the honour to preſent to you FROISSART in his modern dreſs. This offering is juſtly due to your Lordſhip; for, had not your friendſhip expreſſed ſo favourable an opinion on peruſing the firſt chapters, I ſhould have abandoned the proſecution of the work: therefore, if the public now find in it either intereſt or pleaſure, they will be indebted to your Lordſhip.

Cauſes which need not be mentioned to your Lordſhip have delayed this publication. Though I have endeavoured to profit by the delay, I am conſcious that ſtill

many remaining defects will call for your candour and indulgence. If my readers derive half the pleasure in perusing which I have experienced in translating FROISSART, I shall be more than repaid for the pains and time which I have bestowed upon it.

I am proud also of this public opportunity of testifying to your Lordship how sensible I shall ever be of the friendship you have honoured me with, and of the obligations I am under to you.—I am,

MY DEAR LORD,

Your obliged servant and friend,

T. JOHNES.

Hafod, Dec. 24, 1803.

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TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE reader may perhaps wiſh to be informed of a few particulars reſpecting the following work. It would never have been attempted had not Lord BERNERS's tranſlation become not only ſcarce, but the language of it obſolete; beſides that the names of perſons andplaces, in that tranſlation, are equally disfigured as in the original: I have endeavoured to correct this laſt important defect, as far as in my power, but many errors muſt ſtill remain.

With regard to the ſtyle, it has been my aim to ſuit it as much as poſſible to that of my venerable original, and to render it an exact tranſlation without becoming ſervilely literal. Whether I have ſucceeded or not, muſt now be judged by the public.

Several Manuſcripts in my own library have been collated with the printed copies, and the ſame thing has been done with thoſe in the Britiſh Muſeum. A perſon is now employed at Breſlau, in collating the celebrated manuſcript there, which has been ſuppoſed to be the only one unmutilated. Should it prove ſo, the additions ſhall be printed at the end of the work. Many improved readings have been tacitly received, to avoid troubling the public with

notes. Some chapters even are added, which are not in any of the printed editions.

The engravings are traced from the fineſt illuminations in our own libraries and in that of France. By unforeſeen accidents the plates are irregularly given, and they muſt not be bound up until the whole be completed.

When it is conſidered that this work was printed in a very remote part of the Iſland, great allowances ſhould be made, and I conclude with the words of HENRY STEPHENS, in his Apology for HERODOTUS:—"Et toutesfois je ne nie pas qu'il "n'y ait quelques endroits de cette hiſtoire, en la "traduction deſquels je n'ay pu me ſatisfaire; et "ſçay bien qu'encore moins ſatisferay-je à ceux "auxquels Dieu a fait la grace d'entendre l'auteur "en ſon langage naturel. Mais je me fie en une "choſe, c'eſt que ceux qui y ſeront le mieux verſez, "et par conſequent apprehenderont mieux les "difficultez contre leſquelles il a fallu combattre, "ſeront les plus aiſez à contenter."

THOMAS JOHNES.

Hafod, Dec. 24, 1803.

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TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

IT will only be neceſſary to ſtate, in addition to what has been ſaid in the preceding Advertiſement, that ſome errors and inaccuracies which had been overlooked, through haſte or inadvertence, at the time of tranſlating, ſtand corrected, as far as they have been diſcovered, in the preſent Edition. Should others ſtill have eſcaped, as I cannot flatter myſelf that they have not, I muſt reſt contented with beſpeaking the uſual indulgence of candid readers, when criticiſing a work, the extent of which precludes that cloſe attention to the minuter parts, juſtly expected in ſhort compoſitions. On the general merits of the execution the deciſion reſts with the public, and where there is no appeal from the tribunal, it were vain to murmur at the ſentence.

The Life of Froiſſart, corrected from my former tranſlation, from the French of M. de la Curne de St. Palaye, with other preliminary matter, is prefixed to the preſent Edition. As it could not be prepared in time for the quarto, it will be given in a ſupplement, with the additions from the Breſlau Manuſcript, part of which are arrived, and will, it is

hoped, be found fully to anſwer the character given them, in the note at the end of M. de St. Palaye's Eſſay. They will, when complete, be printed in octavo, to acompany this edition, and not only the tranſlation, but the original French, for the ſake of the authority.

I have to return my beſt thanks to the Rev. Henry Boyd, the tranſlator of Dante, for the obliging manner in which he furniſhed me, at a very ſhort notice, with verſions of the remains of Froiſſart's Poetry.

It is to be obſerved, that where the diviſion of the work into volumes and chapters is mentioned in the Life, the reference is to be underſtood as applying to the original; and that each of the four volumes of the French makes three octavo volumes in the preſent Edition.

THOMAS JOHNES.

Hafod, Sept. 24, 1805.

THE

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

MEMOIRS of the Life of Froiſſart - Page i
An Eſſay on the Works of Froiſſart - xxxv
A Criticiſm on the Hiſtory of Froiſſart - lix
On the Poetry of Froiſſart - - xcvii

CHAP. I. Of the braveſt Knights of this preſent Book - - - - 5
II. Of ſome of the Predeceſſors of King Edward of England - - 7
III. Of the Relations of King Edward the Third - - - 8
IV. The Occaſion of the Wars between the Kings of France and England - 9
V. How Earl Thomas of Lancaſter, and twenty-two of the greateſt Nobles in England were beheaded - 10
VI. The Queen of England goes to complain of Sir Hugh Spencer to her Brother the King of France - 12
VII. Sir Hugh Spencer cauſes the Queen Iſabella to be ſent out of France 14

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII. The Queen Iſabella leaves France and goes to Germany - Page 18
IX. Queen Iſabella arrives in England with Sir John de Hainault - 23
X. The Queen of England beſieges her Huſband in the city of Briſtol 26
XI. Sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the Earl of Arundel are adjudged to Death - - - - 28
XII. The King of England and Sir Hugh Spencer are taken at Sea as they were endeavouring to eſcape from the Caſtle of Briſtol - 30
XIII. Sir Hugh Spencer judged and executed - - - 31
XIV. The Coronation of King Edward III. 34
XV. Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, defies King Edward - 37
XVI. A Diſſention between the Archers of England and the Hainaulters - 41
XVII. Of the Manners of the Scots, and how they carry on War - 45
XVIII. King Edward's firſt Expedition againſt the Scots - - - 48
*XVIII. King Edward marries the Lady Philippa of Hainault - - 68
XIX. Robert, King of Scotland, dies 71
XX. Philip of Valois crowned King of France - - - 78
XXI. The Battle of Caſſel, in Flanders 80
XXII. The Earl of Kent and Sir Roger Mortimer put to Death - 82
XXIII. King Edward pays Homage to the King of France for the Duchy of Guienne - - - 84

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV. Robert, Count D'Artois, baniſhed France - - Page 92
XXV. King Edward takes the City of Berwick - - 95
XXVI. King Philip of France and ſeveral other Knights put on the Croſs 106
XXVII. King Edward is adviſed by his Council to make War againſt King Philip of France - 110
XXVIII. Jacob Von Artaveld governs all Flanders - - 116
XXIX. Certain Nobles of Flanders defend the Iſland of Cadſant againſt the Engliſh - - - 121
XXX. The Battle of Cadſant, between the Engliſh and the Flemings attached to the Earl of Flanders - 123
XXXI. King Edward makes great Alliances in the Empire - 126
XXXII. David, King of Scotland, forms an alliance with Philip King of France - - 130
XXXIII. King Edward of England made Vicar of the Empire of Germany. 132
XXXIV. King Edward and his Allies ſend Challenges to the King of France 135
XXXV. Sir Walter Manny, after the Challenges had been ſent, makes the firſt Incurſion into France - 137
XXXVI. The French, after the Challenges, invade England - - 139
XXXVII. King Edward beſieges the City of Cambray - - 141
XXXVIII. King Edward creates Sir Henry of Flanders a Knight, and afterward marches into Picardy - 146

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX. The Kings of France and of England appoint a Day for their Armies to engage Page 153
XL. The Kings of France and England draw up their Armies in Battle Array at Vironfoſſe 156
XLI. The two Kings retire from Vironfoſſe without giving Battle 159
XLII. King Edward aſſumes the Arms and Title of King of France 162
XLIII. The French deſtroy the Territories of Sir John of Hainault 166
XLIV. The Earl of Hainault takes and deſtroys Aubenton, in Tierache 174
XLV. Thoſe of Tournay make an incurſion into Flanders - 179
XLVI. John, Duke of Normandy, marches into Hainault - - 185
XLVII. The Garriſon of Douay makes an incurſion into Oſtrevant, during the abſence of the Earl of Hainault in England and in Germany - - 195
XLVIII. The Duke of Normandy lays Siege to Thin L'Eveque 198
XLIX. The Naval Engagement between the King of England and the French before Sluys - 207
L. Robert, King of Sicily, endeavours to make Peace between the Kings of France and England - - 212
LI. The King of England and his Allies hold a Conference at Vilvorde - - - 213

CHAP.

CHAP. LII. The King of England beſieges the City of Tournay with a powerful Army - - Page 215
LIII. The Earl of Hainault deſtroys the Towns of Seclin and Orchies 217
LIV. The Scots recover great part of their Country, during the Siege of Tournay - - - 220
LV. The king of France aſſembles a large Army, in order to raiſe the Siege of Tournay - - - 224
LVI. Some of the Garriſon of Bouchain defeat a body of Soldiers, from Mortagne, before the Town of Conde - - - - 226
LVII. Sir William de Bailleul, and Sir Vauflart De la Croix, make an Excurſion to Pont a Treſſin - 228
LVIII. The Earl of Hainault attacks the Fortreſs of Mortagne in various manners - - 232
LIX. The Earl of Hainault takes the Town of St. Amand, during the Siege of Tournay - 234
LX. Sir Charles de Montmorency, and many others of the French, captured at Pont a Treſſin - 239
LXI. The Flemings advance to St. Omer during the Siege of Tournay - 243
LXII. The Siege of Tournay raiſed, by means of a Truce - 246
LXIII. The Duke of Brittany dies without heirs; upon which a War enſues for the Succeſſion - 251

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV. The Earl of Montfort takes the Town and Caſtle of Breſt Page 254
LXV. The Earl of Montfort takes the City of Rennes - - 257
LXVI. The Earl of Montfort takes the Town and Caſtle of Hennebon 259
LXVII. The Earl of Montfort does homage to the King of England, for the Dukedom of Brittany - 264
LXVIII. The Earl of Montfort ſummoned before the Parliament of Paris, at the requeſt of the Lord Charles of Blois 266
LXIX. The Duchy of Brittany adjudged, by the Parliament of Paris, to the Lord Charles De Blois - 269
LXX. The Lords of France enter Brittany, with Lord Charles De Blois 271
LXXI. The Earl of Montfort taken Priſoner at Nantes, and the Manner of his death - - 275
LXXII. The King of England, for the third time, makes War upon the Scots 278
LXXIII. King David of Scotland advances with a large Army to Newcaſtle upon Tyne - - 282
LXXIV. King David of Scotland takes and deſtroys the City of Durham 284
LXXV. The King of Scotland beſieges Wark Caſtle, belonging to the Earl of Saliſbury - 286
LXXVI. The King of England is enamoured with the Counteſs of Saliſbury 291
LXXVII. The Earls of Saliſbury and Moray are ſet at liberty, in exchange for each other - - 296

CHAP. LXXVIII. Lord Charles of Blois, with ſome other Lords of France, take the City of Rennes - Page 297
LXXIX. The Lord Charles of Blois beſieges the Counteſs of Montfort in Hennebon - 300
LXXX. Sir Walter Manny conducts the Engliſh into Brittany - 307
LXXXI. The Caſtle of Conquet twice taken 310
LXXXII. The Lord Lewis takes the Towns of Dinant and Guerrande 312

PREFACE.

FOR almost three centuries the curiosity of mankind has been directed towards the age of LEO THE TENTH. The history of that period has not, however, yet been attempted in a manner in any degree equal to the grandeur and variety of the subject. Nor is this difficult to be accounted for. Attractive as such an undertaking may at first appear, it will be found on a nearer inspection to be surrounded by many difficulties. The magnitude of such a task; the trouble of col-

lecting the materials necessary to its proper execution; the long devotion of time and of labour which it must unavoidably require, and above all, the apprehensions of not fulfilling the high expectations which have been formed of it, are some of those circumstances which have perhaps prevented the accomplishment of a work which has often been suggested, sometimes closely contemplated, but hitherto cautiously declined.

The same considerations which have deterred others from engaging in so laborious and hazardous an attempt, would in all probability have produced a similar effect on myself, had I not been led by imperceptible degrees to a situation in which I could scarcely, with either propriety or credit, have declined the task. The history of the life of Lorenzo de' Medici, the father of Leo X. had opened the way to a variety of researches, not less connected with the events of the ensuing period, than with those of the times for which they were immediately

diately intended; and even that work was considered by many, perhaps not unjustly, as only the vestibule to a more spacious building, which it would be incumbent on the author at some future period to complete. Since that publication the friendship and liberality of several distinguished characters, both at home and abroad, have supplied me with many valuable communications and original documents, which without their countenance and favour, it would not have been in my power to have obtained. To have withheld these materials from the public, would have defeated the purpose for which they were communicated; and to have shrunk from the task under such circumstances, would have given occasion for a construction almost as unfavourable to myself as the failure of success. These reflections have induced me, amidst the constant engagements of an active life, to persevere in an undertaking, which has occasionally called for exertions beyond what my time, my talents, or my health could always supply;

and I now submit to the public the result of the labour of many years, in the best form in which, under all circumstances, it has been in my power to offer it to their acceptance.

Although I have entitled the following work THE LIFE AND PONTIFICATE OF LEO X. yet I have not only thought it excusable, but even found it necessary, to enter into the general history of the times; without which it would have been impossible to give so full an idea of the character and conduct of this celebrated pontiff, as it was my wish to communicate. Nor can I regret the opportunity which has thus been afforded me, of examining more fully than has perhaps hitherto been done, a period productive of great and important events, and which exhibits almost every diversity of human character. Respecting the propriety of this union of individual biography with general history, I am well aware, that doubts have been entertained by persons of considerable eminence in literature. That

That there are certain limits between the province of the historian, and that of the biographer, may readily be admitted; yet, as these branches of study are equally conversant with the individuals of our own species, it will unavoidably happen, that each of them will at times encroach upon the precincts of the other. In perusing the pages of Livy or of Tacitus, of Hume or of Gibbon, we find no parts which interest us more than the private and personal memorials of those great and illustrious men who have acted a conspicuous part in the public events of the age; whilst, on the other hand, it would be impossible to form a correct idea of the character of an individual, without considering him in those relations, by which he stands connected with the general transactions of the times in which he lived, and which in truth have not only displayed, but in some measure formed his character. That these mutual concessions may admit of abuse, cannot be doubted; yet, if the great objects of pleasure and utility be obtained, that criticism

ticism would perhaps be too rigid, which would narrowly restrict so advantageous an interchange. In tracing the history of a people through any considerable portion of time, the attention is weakened, and the feelings are blunted, by the rapid succession of events and characters, in which we might have been more deeply interested, if our information respecting them had been more minute. The history of mankind may be compared to the surface of the earth, which is composed of wild woods and trackless deserts, interspersed, however, with cultivated spots, and peculiar appearances of nature. The traveller passes heedlessly over the undiversified prospect, and dwells only on such parts as for their beauty, sublimity, or singularity, he deems most worthy of his regard.

These observations, it is hoped, may serve as an apology for my having entered so much at large into the history of many transactions, which, although they were not influenced in any eminent degree

gree by the personal interference of Leo X. greatly affected the fortunes of his early years. Of this nature is the narrative of the irruption of Charles VIII. into Italy; an enterprise which, as Mr. Gibbon asserts, changed the face of Europe, and of which he at one time meditated a distinct and separate history. The siege of Pisa, as long and as eventful as the celebrated siege of Troy, is so closely connected with all the political events and negotiations of the time, and in particular, with the fate of the three brothers of the Medici, as unavoidably to obtrude itself upon our frequent notice. In adverting to the pontificate of Alexander VI. it is impossible to avoid being forcibly struck with the energy, or rather the atrocity of character by which that pontiff and his son Cæsar Borgia were distinguished; and the singular transactions recorded of them, must occasionally give rise to doubts, which the labours of the most industrious and impartial inquirer will scarcely be adequate to remove. With the fortunes of the Medici, the effects

fects of the memorable league of Cambray, which alone has been the subject of several volumes, are still more closely connected; whilst the conquest of Naples, and the expulsion of the royal family of Aragon by the united arms of Louis XII. and of Ferdinand of Spain, and the subsequent disagreement and contests of those monarchs, for the dominion of that kingdom, claim our attention, no less on account of their connexion with our principal subject, than by their intrinsic importance.

An opinion has of late been very generally advanced both in this country and abroad, that notwithstanding the improvement which took place in Italy, in the age of Leo X. a very moderate portion of it is to be attributed to the personal exertions, talents, and patronage of that pontiff; and that by giving to this period the ostentatious title of THE AGE OF LEO X. we deprive the other eminent patrons of literature who flourished during the same æra, of that praise

to

to which they are justly entitled. I ought not very earnestly to oppose an opinion, which, if espoused by my readers, would relieve me from a great part of my responsibility. Yet, that Leo, during his short pontificate of less than nine years, exerted himself with considerable effect in the promotion of literature and the restoration of the fine arts, cannot be doubted; and as his services have never yet been sufficiently appreciated, or collected into one point of view, an attempt to supply what has hitherto been wanting in this respect, may be entitled at least to pardon. The effects produced by Leo on the character of the times, will, however, be better estimated, when the transactions of his life shall have been more fully unfolded. I shall afterwards return to this important and essential part of my subject, and endeavour to ascertain the amount of the obligations due from posterity to Leo the Tenth.

The earliest professed history of Leo X. is that of Paolo Giovio, better known by

by his Latin appellation of *Paullus Jovius*. This author, the character of whose various productions is sufficiently known, had every opportunity of obtaining the most exact and authentic information on the subject of his history. His life of Leo X. written like the rest of his works, in Latin, is one of the most valuable of his productions, containing much authentic information, and being perhaps less tinctured than the generality of his labours, with that satirical spirit, which its author on many occasions evinced.

With this history of Leo X. by Jovius, and the Italian translation by Dominichi, printed at Florence in 1549, the learned world seems to have remained satisfied for upwards of two centuries. Many incidental anecdotes and brief memoirs of this distinguished pontiff, were in the mean time given to the public; but the first serious intention of connecting the life of Leo X. with the history of the revival of learning, appears to have arisen in our own country, where the

the elegant and pathetic poet William Collins, about the middle of the last century, is said to have published proposals for such a history. " I have heard him " speak with great kindness," says Dr. Johnson, " of Leo X. and with keen re- " sentment of his tasteless successor; but " probably not a page of the history was " ever written." Much as we may regret the failure of this enterprise, those whom nature has endowed with the capacity of feeling the charm of the tender and impassioned productions of this author, will regret still more those calamities that prevented him from increasing the number of his poetical works, which have justly been characterized, as exhibiting " a luxuriance of imagination, a " wild sublimity of fancy, and a felicity " of expression so extraordinary, that " they might be supposed to be suggest- " ed by some superior power, rather than " to be the effect of human judgment or " capacity."

Among the friends of Collins, who seem

seem to have shared his confidence and his studies, was Mr. Thomas Warton, by whom the design of giving a history of the restoration of Letters in Europe, was continued, or revived. In the excellent Essay of his brother Dr. Warton, on the life and writings of Pope, is the following passage. "Concerning the particular "encouragement given by Leo X. to li- "terature and the fine arts, I forbear to "enlarge; because a friend of mine is at "present engaged in writing the HISTO- "RY OF THE AGE OF LEO THE TENTH. "It is a noble period, and full of those "most important events, which have "had the greatest influence on human "affairs. Such as the discovery of the "West Indies by the Spaniards, and of "a passage to the East by the Portu- "guese; the invention of printing; the "reformation of religion; with many "others; all of which will be insisted "upon at large, and their consequences "displayed." As the Essay which contains this passage, was first published in 1756, the same year in which Collins died,

died, it is possible that this notice was intended to refer to his undertaking; but it is also certain, that on his death, the design was not abandoned by his surviving friends. In a conversation which I had the pleasure of enjoying with Dr. Warton, in the year 1797, the progress made in an undertaking which had been so long announced to the public, became an object of my inquiry. By him I was informed that it had been the intention of himself, his brother, and several of their literary friends, to give a history of the revival of letters, not only in Italy, but in all the principal countries of Europe; and that the history of English Poetry by Mr. Thomas Warton, was only a part of this great design. When we advert to the various and excellent critical productions of these liberal and learned brothers, and consider that among the names of their coadjutors, would probably have been found those of West, of Walpole, of Mason, and of Gray, we cannot sufficiently lament the want of public encouragement, which was, in all probability,

probability, the chief cause that prevented this noble and extensive undertaking from being carried into complete execution.

In Italy the life and transactions of Leo X. have, within these few years, been the subject of a work of no inconsiderable merit. To the writings of the late much lamented and learned Monsignore Angelo Fabroni, *Provveditore,* or Principal, of the university of Pisa, I have before been indebted for many important facts in the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici; some of which I have examined with that freedom, which, to some authors, would have been a cause of offence, but which a liberal mind will always prefer to the vain homage of indiscriminate applause. The attempt which I then made to illustrate a period of history, which had been the peculiar object of his inquiry, had the good fortune to obtain his approbation. Under his auspices, the English Life of Lorenzo de' Medici was elegantly translated into Italian, by the Cavaliero

Cavaliero Mecherini, and published at Pisa, in the year 1799. I was afterwards honoured by the correspondence of Monsignore Fabroni, which was continued until the time of his death in the latter part of the year 1803; and in the course of which he transmitted to me his "Life "of Leo X." written in Latin, and published at Pisa in the year 1797. In this work the learned author has not confined himself to the account given of Leo X. by Jovius, but has collected much original information respecting this pontiff, and the age in which he lived. By the aid of these resources he was enabled to throw additional light on his subject; whilst the valuable collection of documents published by him at the close of his work, not only confirm his narrative, but supply important materials for future historians. As the work was not, however, intended by the author, so it must not be expected by the public, to contain a very full and extensive account of the progress made during the pontificate

cate of Leo X. in the departments of science, of literature, or of art; or of those very numerous and distinguished men, to whose writings and labours the reign of that pontiff is indebted for its principal lustre.

But besides these professed histories of Leo X. several works have appeared, which are chiefly confined to the elucidation of some particular parts of his life, or of those of the times in which he lived. Among these are the history of the League of Cambray, by some attributed to the pen of cardinal Polignac; the narrative of the battle of the Taro, between Charles VIII. and the allied army of Italy, by Benedetti; the lives of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, by Gordon; the dialogue of Raffaello Brandolini, entitled Leo; and the commentary of Galeazzo Capella, on the efforts made for the restoration of Francesco Sforza to the duchy of Milan; with many other publications of a similar nature, of which it will

will appear that I have frequently availed myself, in the course of the following work.

The detached and particular histories to which I have before adverted, contain, however, but a small portion of that immense mass of information which remains to the present times, respecting the public and private character and conduct of Leo X. From the high dignity which he enjoyed, both as a secular and an ecclesiastical potentate, and from the active part which he took in all the transactions which affected the state of Europe, his life is intimately connected with the general history of the age; insomuch that there is not an author who has had occasion to treat on the events of this period, in whose work he does not occupy a conspicuous station.

To these, the recorders of the political, civil, and military events of the times, I might add a long train of literary historians, to whom I have been greatly in-

debted for that department of the following work, which is intended to illustrate the state of letters and of science; among these, must be distinguished the immortal work of Tiraboschi; the noblest specimen of that species of composition which any age or country has produced; and the accurate and comprehensive account of the writers of Italy, by Mazzuchelli, who in grasping at an object too extended for human talents, or human life, has executed in six volumes in folio, a comparatively small portion of his colossal attempt.

I shall not, on this occasion, weary the reader by enumerating the many other various and excellent authors, either in this department, or in that of the fine arts, in which the Italians abound beyond any other country, who have afforded their assistance in the following pages; but I must avail myself of this opportunity finally to observe, that I have made it an invariable rule, in the accounts which I have found it necessary to give of

of the writings and characters of men of literary eminence, to resort for information to their own works, as far as my opportunities would permit, and to found my opinions and draw my deductions from them, rather than from those of any subsequent writer. How far I have been enabled thus to derive my intelligence from its primitive channels, will sufficiently appear in the course of my work; in which it has been my practice to refer to the author from whom I have actually quoted; and who must be considered as answerable for the accuracy of the citation when the original has not fallen in my way.

Such are the works relating to the life of Leo X. and the times in which he lived, which have already been published, and of which I have availed myself in the course of the ensuing narrative; but, besides these more ostensible sources of information, I have, during a series of years, been enabled to collect many original documents, which have served to throw

considerable light on the times to which the following pages relate. Of these, one of the most important acquisitions consists of a series of letters and papers, copied from the originals in the archives of the *Palazzo Vecchio* at Florence, and forming two volumes in folio, of about three hundred pages each. For this valuable collection I am indebted to the obliging and disinterested interference of a nobleman, who adds dignity to his station, not only by the firm and consistent tenor of his public conduct, but by his encouragement of those literary studies, in which he has himself made so distinguished a proficiency. The liberal views of Lord Holland were seconded by the kind assistance of Mr. Penrose, the late British resident at Florence, and were carried into complete effect by the generosity of the Grand Duke; who directed that access should be had at all times to the original state papers, and every possible facility given to these researches. The first part of this collection consists chiefly of letters written by the great Lorenzo de' Medici, father

ther of the pontiff, relating principally to the promotion of his son to the rank of cardinal. From these letters, which have enabled me to place this event in its fullest light, I might have given much larger extracts, but as they elucidate only this single circumstance, it will perhaps be thought that I have been sufficiently copious in my authorities on this head. This collection also comprises a series of letters written by Balthazar Turini, commonly called Balthazar or Baldassare da Pescia, then at Rome, to Lorenzo de' Medici the nephew of the pontiff, who resided at Florence during the early part of the pontificate of Leo X. From these, none of which have heretofore been printed, it appears that the writer was appointed assistant Datary, or Secretary, to transmit to Florence the fullest information on every event that took place at Rome, not only with respect to public transactions, but to the private concerns of every branch of the family of the Medici. In the execution of this office he seems to have acted under the immediate direc-

tions

tions of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII. who was intrusted by Leo X. with the superintendence of the government of the Florentine state, and to whose suggestions Lorenzo was expected implicitly to conform. These letters, although they extend only from the month of March to the month of September, in the second year of the pontificate of Leo X. (1514) throw considerable light on the characters of the persons there mentioned, and suggest or illustrate many curious and important circumstances; but besides these, the most material subjects, this collection of papers is interspersed with other documents of considerable interest, not heretofore published, and which will be more particularly noticed in the course of the following work.

In adverting to the assistance which I have derived from the city of Florence, that cradle of the arts in modern times, I must not omit to notice the favours conferred on me by the late venerable and learned Canonico Angelo Maria Bandini

dini, late principal librarian of the Laurentian library there. Of a character so well known in the literary world, any commendation of mine would be superfluous; yet I cannot avoid remarking it as an extraordinary circumstance, that he maintained a high rank among the scholars of Italy during the long space of sixty years, and that the history of his life, with an account of his literary productions, was given in the great work of Mazzuchelli, the publication of which he survived nearly half a century. During this period he continued to enrich the republic of letters by many other works; some of which, as they bear a particular reference to the history of the Medici, will be referred to in the following pages. To this eminent man, who retained his early and ardent love of literature to the close of his days, I am also indebted for the communication of several scarce and valuable documents, both printed and manuscript, as well as for various letters, indicating to me, with the utmost attention and minuteness,

those

those sources of information which his long and intimate acquaintance with the subjects of the following volumes had enabled him to point out.

In the prosecution of this work, I was, however, well aware that the most important information for my purpose might be derived from the immense collections of the Vatican, and could not but regret, that from the calamitous state of public affairs, the distance of my own situation from these records, and other circumstances, there was little probability that I should be able to surmount the formidable obstacles that presented themselves to its attainment. From this state of despondency I was however fortunately relieved, by the unsolicited kindness of John Johnson, Esquire, then on his travels through Italy, who, with a liberality which demands my warmest acknowledgments, obtained for me, by means of his acquaintance with the Abate Gaetano Marini, the learned Prefect of the Archives of the Vatican, a consi-

derable

derable number of important documents, copied as well from the manuscripts in that collection, as from printed works of extreme rarity, which relate to the affairs of the Roman court in the time of Leo X. and which are, for the most part, to be found only in that collection. Among the former is the fragment of an unpublished life of Leo X. written in Latin, with considerable elegance, and brought down to the year 1516. The printed works consist principally of letters and orations of the ambassadors of foreign states to Leo X. and were probably only printed for the exclusive use of the Roman court. Besides these, I had also the pleasure of receiving an entire copy of the very scarce and curious tract of Jacopo Penni, containing the most particular account which now remains of the ceremonies and splendid exhibitions that took place in Rome on the elevation of Leo X. which, with many other pieces from the same authentic quarter, the reader will find in the Appendix to the ensuing volumes.

To

To the continued favour and friendly recommendations of the same gentleman during his progress through Italy, I am also indebted for my literary intercourse with the celebrated Abate Jacopo Morelli, librarian of S. Marco at Venice, well known to the learned world, as the author of many estimable works. From him I have received much useful information respecting the publications necessary for my purpose, accompanied by some scarce tracts, and by his own judicious and interesting remarks. I am sensible that in thus paying the tribute of gratitude to the most illustrious scholars of Italy, I may be suspected of attempting to support my own weak endeavours upon the established reputation of their names; but I have not been deterred by this consideration from discharging what I esteem to be an indispensable obligation to the living, and a sacred duty to the dead; being well convinced that the favours conferred upon me, can no more excuse the imperfections of my work, than those imperfections can detract from the high character, which the

persons

persons to whom I have referred have so justly and so universally obtained.

Respecting the private lives of Leo X. and his predecessors Alexander VI. and Julius II. considerable information is derived from the diaries of the successive officers of the Roman court, who were styled Masters of the Ceremonies of the pope's chapel, and who seem to have considered it as part of their duty to keep a register of such transactions as occurred under their own eye, or came to their knowledge. The first of these officers whose labours appear to have been preserved, is Giovanni Burcardo Broccardo, or as he is more usually called, Burchard, a native of Strasbourg, and dean of the church of St. Thomas in that city. He afterwards transferred his residence to Rome, where he obtained several ecclesiastical preferments, and was appointed master of the ceremonies on the twenty-first day of December, 1483, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. A few months afterwards he commenced his

his journal, which during the life of Sixtus IV. was confined to a few slight and unimportant minutes. On the death of that pontiff he extended his plan, and has occasionally enriched it with anecdotes, and adverted to circumstances not strictly confined to the limits of his office. His diary is written in Latin, in a pedestrian and semi-barbarian style, but with an apparent accuracy and minuteness as to facts, which, notwithstanding the singular circumstances related by him, give it an air of veracity. Such part as adverts to the life of Alexander VI. has been published almost entire. Large extracts from it have also been given by several authors who have been inclined to expatiate on the enormities of this pontiff, and particularly by Gordon, in his life of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, printed at London in 1729. After the death of Alexander, Burchard was appointed by Julius II. bishop of Horta, in the possession of which dignity he died on the 16th day of May, 1506.

About

About two years before the death of Burchard, he had a colleague or assistant in Paris de Grassis, who also succeeded him as master of the ceremonies. This officer has also kept a diary, which commences on the twelfth day of May, 1504, and is continued throughout the rest of the pontificate of Julius II. and the whole of that of Leo X. It has never been printed entire, but some detached parts have been published; and it has also been consulted by several writers, who have given extracts from it in their works.

From the narrative of Paris de Grassis, it appears, that he was a native of Bologna, of a respectable family. His brother Achilles was, in the year 1511, raised by Julius II. to the dignity of the purple, and was one of the most learned and respectable members of the college. Another brother, Agamemnon, (for the family names seem to have been sought for in Homer, rather than in the books of the Old and New Testament) was in the

the year 1510, ambassador from the city of Bologna to the Pope. The assiduities of Paris, as master of the ceremonies, could not conciliate the favour of that austere pontiff Julius II. but in the vacancy of the holy see, which occurred on the death of that pope, he obtained from the sacred college, as a reward for his services, the promise of the bishopric of Pesaro united with the abbey of Santa Croce. These dignities were afterwards confirmed to him by Leo X. who also nominated him a prelate of the palace, and appointed his nephew to be his coadjutor in the office of master of the ceremonies. He survived that pontiff, and died at Rome on the tenth day of June, 1528.

The style of Paris de Grassis, like that of his predecessor, has little pretensions to elegance. It is, however, rendered interesting by its simplicity, which gives to his narration a character of fidelity. In the exercise of his functions he seems to have been a more rigid disciplinarian

ciplinarian than even Burchard himself, and it is somewhat amusing to observe the importance which he frequently attaches to his office, and the severity with which he reproves those relaxations from the dignity of his high rank, in which Leo, on some occasions, indulged himself.

Among the objects of my earnest inquiry, was the unpublished part of the diary of Paris de Grassis, which yet exists in the library of the Vatican, and of which copies are also found in the National Library at Paris. Of this diary, as well as of that of Burchard, some of the most interesting particulars have already been given to the public, in the work entitled, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, which has been continued under the title of *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale;* but as the extracts thus made are not in general given in the original Latin, but are for the most part abridged,

abridged, and translated into French, I have not derived from this work the advantages which I might otherwise have obtained. It happened, however, fortunately for my purpose, that in the summer of the year 1802, my particular friend and neighbour, the Reverend Mr. Shepherd, well known as the author of *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini*, paid a visit to Paris. On this occasion I scrupled not to request his assistance in examining for me the different manuscripts of the diary of Paris de Grassis, and making such extracts from them, in the original, as he conceived would be most interesting. As no one can be better qualified for such a task, so no one could have entered upon it with greater alacrity. During his stay at Paris, a considerable portion of his time was passed in these researches, in which he met with every possible facility from the librarians; and on his return, he brought with him several curious extracts, which have enabled me to throw additional

light

light on the history of Leo X. and particularly on the singular circumstances attending his death.

Nor have I, in the course of my inquiries, wholly omitted the opportunities which even this country affords, of collecting information from unpublished documents respecting the times in question. Among the Cottonian Manuscripts in the British Museum, are contained many original letters from the Roman court and the English ambassadors resident there, to Henry VIII. and his ministers, explanatory of the political transactions of the age. I had not an opportunity of examining these papers, until my work was considerably advanced; but by the kind assistance of my highly respected friend John Walker, Esq. of Bedford-Square, and by the obliging attention of Mr. Planta, principal librarian of the British Museum, I have been enabled to inform myself of such documents as were more particularly applicable to my purpose, some of which the

reader will find, either given entire in the appendix, or referred to in the course of the work.

Although I have for several years endeavoured, at great expense, and with considerable success, to collect such printed works as appeared to be necessary for the present undertaking, yet I have not neglected to solicit the assistance, or to avail myself of the offers of several persons, on whose friendship and liberality I could rely, to furnish me with such publications as I had not had the good fortune elsewhere to obtain. To the very obliging liberality of Richard Heber, Esq. of Hodnet, whose library is particularly enriched by the early editions of the works of the modern writers of Latin poetry, I am indebted for the use of many of the scarce publications in that department, referred to in the following volumes, which have enabled me to discuss the subjects to which they relate, with greater confidence than I could possibly have done through the secondary

condary medium of other writers. His extensive collection of medals has also been freely opened for the use of the engraver, in improving the ornamental part of the work. The very select library of my early literary associate, and long valued friend, William Clarke, Esq. of Everton, has also been of frequent use to me in the course of my researches, during which I have derived additional assistance from his extensive learning, and very particular acquaintance with the literary history of Italy. My acknowledgments are also due for the use of scarce books and manuscripts, or for other favours in the course of my work, to Dr. James Currie, late of Liverpool, but now of Bath, well known by his many valuable publications, both on scientific and literary subjects, and whom I am proud to record on this occasion, as my long esteemed and excellent friend; the Rev. Wm. Parr Greswell, author of *Memoirs of Italian Scholars who have written Latin poetry;* Sir Isaac Heard, Knight, Garter principal King

of Arms; Mr. Wm. Smyth, Fellow of Peter House, Cambridge; Henry Brown, Esq. of Liverpool; the Rev. Mr. Hinkes, of Cork; the Rev. Mr. Crane, Vicar of Over, in Cheshire; the Rev. John Greswell, of the college, Manchester; and to several other persons, who will, I hope, excuse a more particular acknowledgment, in the confidence that I am not insensible of their favours.

With respect to the execution of the following work, I cannot but be well aware, that many circumstances and characters will be found represented in a light somewhat different from that in which they have generally been viewed, and that I may probably be accused of having suffered myself to be induced by the force of prejudice, or the affectation of novelty, to remove what have hitherto been considered as the land-marks of history. To imputations of this kind, I feel the most perfect indifference. Truth alone has been my guide, and whenever she has steadily diffused her light, I have endeavoured

endeavoured to delineate the objects in their real form and colour. History is the record of the experience of mankind, in their most important concerns. If it be impossible for human sagacity to estimate the consequences of a falsehood in private life, it is equally impossible to estimate the consequences of a false or partial representation of the events of former times. The conduct of the present is regulated by the experience of the past. The circumstances which have led the way to the prosperity or destruction of states, will lead the way to the prosperity or destruction of states in all future ages. If those in high authority be better informed than others, it is from this source that their information must be drawn; and to pollute it, is therefore to poison the only channel through which we can derive that knowledge, which, if it can be obtained pure and unadulterated, cannot fail in time to purify the intellect, expand the powers, and improve the condition of the human race.

As

As in speaking of the natural world, there are some persons who are disposed to attribute its creation to chance, so in speaking of the moral world, there are some who are inclined to refer the events and fluctuations in human affairs to accident, and are satisfied with accounting for them from the common course of things, or the spirit of the times. But as *chance* and *accident*, if they have any meaning whatever, can only mean the operation of causes not hitherto fully investigated, or distinctly understood, so *the spirit of the times* is only another phrase for causes and circumstances which have not hitherto been sufficiently explained. It is the province of the historian to trace and to discover these causes, and it is only in proportion as he accomplishes this object, that his labours are of any utility. An assent to the former opinion may indeed gratify our indolence, but it is only from the latter method that we can expect to acquire true knowledge, or to be able to apply

apply to future conduct the information derived from past events.

There is one peculiarity in the following work, which it is probable may be considered as a radical defect. I allude to the frequent introduction of quotations and passages from the poets of the times, occasionally interspersed through the narrative, or inserted in the notes. To some it may appear that the seriousness of history is thus impertinently broken in upon, whilst others may suppose, that not only its gravity, but its authenticity is impeached by these citations, and may be inclined to consider this work as one of those productions, in which truth and fiction are blended together, for the purpose of amusing and misleading the reader. To such imputations I plead not guilty. That I have at times introduced quotations from the works of the poets, in proof of historical facts, I confess; nor, when they proceed from contemporary authority, do I perceive that their being in verse invalidates their

their credit. In this light I have frequently cited the *Decennale* of Machiavelli, and the *Vergier d' honneur* of Andrè de la Vigne, which are in fact little more than versified annals of the events of the times; but in general, I have not adduced such extracts as evidences of facts, but for a purpose wholly different. To those who are pleased in tracing the emotions and passions of the human mind in all ages, nothing can be more gratifying than to be informed of the mode of thinking of the public at large, at interesting periods, and in important situations. Whilst war and desolation stalk over a country, or whilst a nation is struggling for its liberties or its existence, the opinions of men of genius, ability, and learning, who have been agitated with all the hopes and fears to which such events have given rise, and have frequently acted a personal and important part in them, are the best and most instructive comment. By such means, we seem to become contemporaries with those whose history we peruse, and to acquire

quire an intimate knowledge, not only of the facts themselves, but of the judgment formed upon such facts by those who were most deeply interested in them. Nor is it a slight advantage in a work which professes to treat on the literature of the times, that the public events, and the works of the eminent scholars and writers of that period, thus become a mutual comment, and serve on many occasions to explain and to illustrate each other.

The practice which I have heretofore adopted of designating the scholars of Italy by their national appellations, has given rise to some animadversions. In answer to which I beg to remark, that whoever is conversant with history, must frequently have observed the difficulties which arise from the wanton alterations, in the names of both persons and places, by authors of different countries, and particularly by the French, who, without hesitation, accommodate every thing to the genius of their own language. Hence the

the names of all the eminent men of Greece, of Rome, or of Italy, are melted down, and appear again in such a form as would not in all probability have been recognised by their proper owners; Dionysius is *Denys*, Titus Livius *Tite Live*, Horatius *Horace*, Petrarca *Petrarque*, and Pico of Mirandola, *Pic de Mirandole.* As the literature which this country derived from Italy was first obtained through the medium of the French, our early authors followed them in this respect, and thereby sanctioned those innovations which the nature of our own language did not require. It is still more to be regretted that we are not even uniform in our abuse. The name of *Horace* is familiar to the English reader, but if he were told of *the three Horaces,* he would probably be at a loss to discover the persons meant, the authors of our country having commonly given them the appellation of the *Horatii.* In the instance of such names as are familiar to our early literature, we adopt with the French the abbreviated

abbreviated appellation; but in latter times we usually employ proper national distinctions, and instead of *Arioste,* or *Metastase,* we write, without hesitation, *Ariosto,* or *Metastasio.* This inconsistency is more sensibly felt when the abbreviated appellation of one scholar is contrasted with the national distinction of another, as when a letter is addressed by *Petrarch* to *Coluccio Salutati,* or by *Politian* to *Ermolao Barbaro,* or *Baccio Ugolini.* For the sake of uniformity, it is surely desirable that every writer conform as much as possible to some general rule, which can only be found by a reference of every proper name to the standard of its proper country. This method would not only avoid the incongruities before mentioned, but would be productive of positive advantages, as it would in general point out the nation of the person spoken of, without the necessity of further indication. Thus, in mentioning one of the monarchs of France, who makes a conspicuous figure in the ensuing pages, I have not denominated him

Lodovico

Lodovico XII. with the Italians, nor *Lewis XII.* with the English, but *Louis XII.* the name which he himself recognised. And thus I have also restored to a celebrated Scottish general, in the service of the same monarch, his proper title of *d'Aubigny,* instead of that of *Obigni,* usually given him by the historians of Italy.

I cannot deliver this work to the public without a most painful conviction, that notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, and the most sedulous attention which it has been in my power to bestow upon it, many defects will still be discoverable, not only from the omission of much important information, which may not have occurred to my inquiries, but from an erroneous or imperfect use of such as I may have had the good fortune to obtain. Yet I trust, that when the extent of the work, and the great variety of subjects which it comprehends are considered, the candid and judicious will make due allowance for those inaccuracies

cies against which no vigilance can at all times effectually guard. With this publication, I finally relinquish all intention of prosecuting, with a view to the public, my researches into the history and literature of Italy. That I have devoted to its completion a considerable portion of time and of labour will sufficiently appear from the perusal of the following pages, and it may therefore be presumed that I cannot be indifferent to its success. But whatever inducements I may have found in the hope of conciliating the indulgence, or the favour of the public, I must finally be permitted to avow, that motives of a different, and perhaps of a more laudable nature, have occasionally concurred to induce me to persevere in the present undertaking. Among these, is an earnest desire to exhibit to the present times an illustrious period of society; to recall the public attention to those standards of excellence to which Europe has been indebted for no inconsiderable portion of her subsequent improvement; to unfold the ever active

active effect of moral causes on the acquirements and the happiness of a people; and thereby raise a barrier, as far as such efforts can avail, against that torrent of a corrupt and vitiated taste, which if not continually opposed, may once more overwhelm the cultivated nations of Europe in barbarism and degradation. To these great and desirable aims, I could wish to add others, yet more exalted and commendable; to demonstrate the fatal consequences of an ill directed ambition, and to deduce, from the unperverted pages of history, those maxims of true humanity, sound wisdom, and political fidelity, which have been too much neglected in all ages, but which are the only solid foundations of the repose, the dignity, and the happiness of mankind.

ALLERTON,
8th March, 1805.

PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN submitting to the public a new edition of *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* I cannot conceive it to be requisite for me to enter into a general defence of a work which has been so far honoured with their approbation. At the same time, I am not ignorant of the various animadversions to which it has given rise. Of these, some are of such a nature, that whether they be considered with respect to their matter, or their manner, they can only be passed over by me in silence. I might perhaps have been disposed to congratulate myself, that in a work of such extent, and embracing such a variety of topics, I had not given more substantial cause for critical observation; and after having corrected a few trifling errors, I might have consoled myself in the thought that my labours were tolerably free from mistakes. But unfortunately, there is not, I conceive, any such cause of satisfaction. Those who have attempted to depreciate my work, have manifestly shewn, that they are too little acquainted with the nature of its subject, with the history of the times to which it relates, and with the

various branches of science and of art which it involves, to detect its errors or expose its defects. Under their treatment, it has undergone no ordeal. For the only observations of any real value, I am indebted to those more liberal and enlightened critics, who, in pointing out its errors, have acknowledged that my work is not wholly without pretensions to the public favour; or to those judicious and learned friends, who, in their private communications, have enhanced the value of their commendation by the truth and freedom of their remarks.

In one instance only has any attempt been made to impeach my accuracy as an historian by a specific charge; and in this alone I consider myself to be called upon for a reply. In assigning to the important letter from Luther to Leo X. the date of the *sixth of April*, 1520, I have been accused of having displayed a manifest prejudice against the character of Luther, and even of not having paid a due attention to the authors whom I have cited. From this circumstance some persons have also affected to draw conclusions unfavourable to the general authenticity of my history. How far these charitable inferences would justly follow from the discovery of a single mistake in a narrative of such extent, I am happily not under the necessity of inquiring, as I have it in my power to give the most satisfactory evidence of the correctness of my former statement. If in this vindication I should trespass on the indulgence of the reader, I must beg him to observe that the question is of considerable importance, as it respects the character and conduct of Luther, on one of the most trying occasions of his life.

This question commenced with Seckendorf, who, in his Commentary on the History of Maimbourg, has

has attempted to shew that the letter from Luther, which I have considered as bearing the date of the sixth of April, 1520, and as having been the cause of such great offence to the pontiff, was not written until October following, about four months after the issuing of the papal bull, which bears date the fifteenth of June, in the same year. This letter Seckendorf also considers as conciliatory, and as intended to soften the animosity of the pontiff, and to throw the blame on Eccius, and the cardinal of Gaeta.(a) If these conjectures were well founded, it would follow of course, that after the issuing of the bull, Luther still wished, and endeavoured, to bring about a reconciliation with the Roman see; and that the character and conduct of the great reformer must, in this instance, be viewed in a different light from that in which they have been placed in the following work.

For the establishment of his proposition, Seckendorf has chiefly relied on the letters of Charles Miltitz,

(a) "Nec temperare mihi possum, quin omnes, etiam Lutheranismo infensos, qua possum animi contentione, rogem, ut legere illam (epistolam) et relegere, sepositoque affectu agnoscere velint, quantus in ultimo hoc conatu ad movendum pontificis animum, ut seriæ reformationi operam daret, sit spiritus; quantaque solertia, invidiam a Leone amoventis, et culpam exasperatæ causæ in Cajetanum et Eccium devolventis; ut profecto inter rara, et admiratione dignissima scripta referri merito debeat." *Seck. de Lutheranismo, lib.* i. *sec.* 27. *p.* 98. That this letter is of a conciliatory tenor is also asserted by Sleidan and other protestant writers, and insisted on with great warmth by some who have honoured my work with their remarks. I have, however, found no reason to alter the opinion which I have already given on this subject; but my opponents cannot complain, if in debating this point, I argue upon their own principles, and consider this letter, as they contend it to be, of a pacific tendency.

the papal envoy to Luther, of which he had obtained a sight after the publication of the first edition of his work. From these he presumes, that Miltitz had a conference with Luther on the eleventh of October, 1520, in which Luther promised, within twelve days, to write to the pontiff *modestly* and *humbly*, and to prefix his letter to a book which he was then writing, and intended to send to the pope; dating his letter on the sixth day of September preceding;*(a)* with which date it is said the letter now under consideration is published in the German edition of the works of Luther. Seckendorf has also stated, that on the twenty eighth day of August, 1520, a general chapter of the Augustine order was held at Isleben, when a deputation was sent to Luther to prevail upon him to write to the pope in moderate and conciliatory terms, which he promised to do. On the third of October, it seems however that Luther had again changed his mind, and determined not to write to the pontiff; until he was again prevailed upon to undertake that task by the persuasions of Miltitz, as before related.*(b)*

In the narrative which I have had occasion to give of the early part of the reformation, I have considered the letter which has given rise to this discussion as actually written on or about the sixth of April, 1520, the date which

(a) "Lutherus (scribit Miltitius) ex Spiritus Sancti inspiratione "non offenditur, quicquid clament, aut quascunque bullas publicent. "Scripturus est intra dies 12. ad Pontificem *modeste* prorsus et "*humiliter, in præfatione nempe libelli, quem elaboraturus et Pontifici* "*missurus est.* Epistolæ die adscribetur 6 Septemb. qui est deci- "mus post Capitulum Augustin. Islebiense, et quindecimus a pub- "licata bulla." *ap. Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 27. *p.* 99.

(b) Seck. de Lutheran. lib. i. *sec.* 27. *p.* 98.

which it bears in the Latin edition of the works of Luther. This decision is strongly supported by the internal evidence of the letter itself, which for various reasons, could not have been written by Luther after the issuing of the papal bull.

This letter, it must be observed, contains a sort of history of the opposition of Luther to the Roman see, and of the violent and oppressive measures adopted by his adversaries against him; terminating with an account of the disputations at Leipsic in the month of June, 1519. Could Luther then, in a narrative of this nature, have omitted to notice the proceedings of the papal see from June, 1519, to September or October, 1520, and particularly the bull, which had then been published throughout Europe, and by which his doctrines were condemned and himself declared a heretic, unless he made his submission within a limited time? To advance such an assertion, is to attribute to Luther an absurdity of which he was surely never guilty, and a dereliction of his principles, which would have degraded him in the estimation both of his friends and his foes.

There is indeed great reason to believe, from the manner in which Luther refers in this letter, to the disputation at Leipsic, that the application made to him by the Augustine fathers, occurred in the year 1519, and not in 1520, as stated by Seckendorf and his followers. "These disputes," says Luther, (which the reader will please to observe took place on the twenty-seventh of June, 1519) "having had no other result than the "greater confusion of the Roman see; in the third "place, Charles Miltitz applies to the fathers of the "Augustines, assembled in their chapter, and asks their "advice about conciliating matters, which were then

"in

" in a most deranged and dangerous state. Some of " the most distinguished of them, when violence was " found to be of no avail, were sent to me, and desired " that I would at least honour the person of your holi- " ness, and by humble letters demonstrate both your " innocence and my own. That matters were not yet " desperate, if Leo X. in accordance with his mild " disposition, would endeavour to remedy them."(a) From which it should appear that Miltitz, finding that the disputation at Leipsic had produced no good effect to the cause of Rome, applied soon afterwards to the Augustine fathers, as the next or succeeding measure, probably at their general chapter in the month of August, 1519; and that as matters were not yet desperate, (which could not surely be said after the issuing of the papal bull) Luther might still entertain hopes of a reconciliation. The result of the disputes at Leipsic, and the application of Miltitz to the Augustine fathers, are stated by Luther in the same sentence, as cause and effect; the latter being the immediate consequence of the failure of the former.(b) On any other supposition it would appear that Miltitz had remained in Germany upwards of a year after the disputes at Leipsic, without any effort to forward the business on which he came, and on which he was only employed about two years in the whole. The letters of Luther which appear without

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(a) v. The original in the Appendix to this work, No. CLXXXII.

(b) If the express authority of Luther himself could be thought to stand in need of confirmation, it may be found in the narrative of Sleidan. " Quum autem occasione disputationis Lipsicæ, quam odiosè tractaverat Eccius, doctrinam suam Lutherus magis illustraret ac patefaceret

out a date, but which Seckendorf, *of his own authority*, refers to the year 1520, apply with much greater propriety to the year 1519, when Luther had frequent meetings with Miltitz, and promised to write in humiliating terms to the pope; and are in perfect unison of sentiment and language with his other letters written at that period; but by no means agree with his temper and circumstances after the issuing of the bull in 1520.*(a)*

Again, it can scarcely escape notice, that Luther, in his letter to the pope, enters into a vindication of the part which

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patefaceret, Miltitius primores aliquot ordinis Augustiniani convocat. Communicato consilio, indicabant omnes ad componendum dissidium in primis fore idoneum, si quidem Lutherus, datis ad Pontificem litteris, honorificum ei testimonium præberet. Horum itaque monitu, scribit illi, ad *Sextum Aprilis diem, &c*—Postremò, librum a se recens conscriptum, *De Libertate Christiana* illi defert, paucis eum commendans, quod veræ doctrinæ summam complectatur." *Sleid. lib. iii. in prin.*

(a) Seckendorf thus cites, in his own language, a MS letter of Luther to the elector Frederick, written in 1519, " Refert (Lutherus) Miltitium vehementer heri exagerasse contumeliam et injuriam quam Ecclesiæ Romanæ Lutherus intulisset; et se humillime, et quantum potuerit ad reparationem obtulisse. Exponit inde oblata, se posthac quieturum esse, ut negotium hoc per se expiraret, dummodo adversarii quoque silerent, &c. Scripturum se Pontifici, cum humillima submissione, et agniturum quod nimis fervidus et acris fuerit," &c. *Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 47. *p.* 64. If this be compared with the letter supposed by Seckendorf to have been written by Luther in October, 1520, and on which he grounds his argument, there will be found such a similarity of sentiment between them, as renders it highly incredible that one of them could have been written before, and the other after the issuing of the bull, and almost demonstrates (when it is considered that one of them is confessedly without a date) that they were written on the same occasion. Thus Luther addresses himself to Spalatinus, " Convenimus Lichtenbergæ, mi Spalatine, Dn. Carolus Miltitius et ego; quantumque ex eo audio, magna spe statuimus

which he had taken in the disputes at Leipsic; asserting that he was reluctantly dragged into the debate respecting the supremacy of the holy see by Eccius, who had taken advantage of an unguarded expression of his, on this subject. Admitting this letter to have been written about the time it bears date in the Latin edition, this explanation is sufficiently consistent with the character of Luther, and with his temper at this period; but to suppose that after his doctrines had been condemned by the papal bull, he would have apologized to the pontiff, for an expression which he had used at Leipsic fifteen months before, tending to impeach the supremacy of the Roman see, is not less remote from all probability of truth, than it is derogatory from the character of Luther.

It is indeed remarkable, that Seckendorf himself has not pretended to do more than to suggest some doubts as to the real time when the letter in question was written;(a) and it is still more remarkable, that in the second edition of his history, he has not ventured to adopt his own previous suggestions, by giving, or even mentioning this letter in the place where, according to chronological

statuimus, ut ego ad summum Pontificem epistolam edam, utraque lingua, præfixam parvulo alicui opusculo; in qua narrem historiam meam, et quod non unquam personam ejus appetierim, totum pondus in Eccium versurus. Quæ omnia, cum ita vere se habeant, facile facio, et quam possum humillime offeram silentium, modo ceteri quoque sileant; ut nihil videar omittere, quod in me ad pacem quoquo modo facere possit desiderandum; id quod semper facere paratus fui, quod non ignoras. Parabo itaque hæc ante omnia propediem; si eveniet, quod speramus, bene factum est; sin aliud erit, id quoque bonum erit." *ap. Seck. lib. sec. 67. p. 98.*

(a) " De tempore tamen quo tradita Epistola est, *dubitationem* " *quandam* infra aperiam." *Seck.lib. i. sec. 27. p. 98.*

chronological order, it ought to occupy so conspicuous a station; and where it would place the conduct of Luther, after the issuing of the bull, in so very different a light. On the contrary, he has assented to the narrative of Maimbourg, with whom he so seldom agrees in other respects, as to the uniform perseverance, and even violence of Luther after the issuing of the bull, without attempting in any manner to shew that Luther endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the papal see. He refers only to the new appeal of Luther to a general council, in which Luther personally attacks the pope as *a tyrant, a heretic, an apostate, and as Antichrist himself,(a)* and to the two tracts published by Luther against the bull, which are dated the first of December, 1520, and are replete with the most violent invectives against the Roman see.*(b)*

But independent of either the internal evidence of the letter, or any other conjectural proof, a due consideraon of the following circumstances will fully decide the question. The letter of Luther was not a separate or occasional production, but was the dedication to Leo X. of the treatise of Luther *De Libertate Christiana*, actually prefixed to, and published with that

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(a) " Sed nunc commotior Lutherus Pontificem ipsum, *ob editam* " *Bullam*, pro *tyranno*, *hæretico*, *apostata*, *antichristo*, et superbo " concilii contemtore habet." *Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 31. *p.* 117.

(b) One of these is entitled, " *Adversus execrabilem Antichristi* " *Bullam*;" the other, *Assertio articulorum Martini Lutheri, per bullam Leonis X. novissime damnatorum.* These tracts are of considerable extent, and must have engaged the attention of Luther for several months before their publication.

that work in the early part of the year 1520.(a) In this form it is also given in the Jena edition of the writings of Luther, where it immediately precedes the treatise, and is inscribed, *The Epistle of Luther to the Roman Pontiff Leo X.* PREFIXED TO HIS BOOK ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.(b) The dedicatory words to the pontiff at the close of the letter admit of no doubt. *That I may not*, says he, *approach your holiness with empty hands, I bring with me this tract*, PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF YOUR NAME, *as an auspice of returning peace and favourable expectations.*(c) That this work preceded, in the order of publication, the treatise of Luther *De Captivitate Babylonica*, is not only apparent from the very different tenor of those writings, but is expressly stated by all the authors on this subject, and even by Seckendorf himself;(d) and the latter tract had made its appearance in the month of August, 1520.(e) The precise time of

(a) An edition was published at Wittemberg, in 1520, and entitled, EPISTOLA LUTHERIANA *ad Leonem Decimum summum Pontificem.* TRACTATUS DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA. The Letter and Tract were also printed at Antwerp in the same year; *per Michael. Hillenium.* And again at Wittemberg, in 1521; under the following title. DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA, *Dissertatio Martini Lutheri, per autorem recognita.* EPISTOLA *ejusdem ad Leonem Decimum summum Pontificem.*

(b) *Epistola Lutheri ad Leonem X. Rom. pontificem,* LIBELLO DE LIBERTATE CHRISTIANA *præfixa. Luth. op. tom.* i. *p.* 385.

(c) *v.* The letter in App. No. CLXXXII.

(d) *Sleidan lib.* ii. *in prin. Maim. ap. Seck. sec.* 28. *Seck. ibid. et in Indice, Script. Lutheri, an.* 1520.

(e) " Ad hæc Elector. *d.* 24 *August.* respondet, *Lutheri librum* " *jam editum esse; si id præscirisset, impediturum publicationem liben-* " *ter fuisse.* Non dubito libellum hunc esse eum, quem *de Captivitate* " *Babylonica*

of the publication of the treatise *De Libertate Christiana*, is therefore, most probably, marked by the dedicatory letter itself, viz. the sixth of April, 1520, about two months before the issuing of the papal bull, when such language was not unsuitable to the dignity and character of Luther; but at whatever time it was published, it is evident that as it preceded the treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica*, which was published in or before the month of August, 1520, it could not on its first appearance have been accompanied by a letter which Luther is said not to have written till the ensuing month of October; and further, that the book which Luther is said by Miltitz to have been writing in the month of October, 1520, with the intention of sending it to the pope, could not have been the treatise on Christian Liberty.

Whether Luther did or did not promise to write to Leo X. after the issuing of the papal bull; whether he did or did not actually write to him, are not the present subjects of inquiry. The question is, whether Luther in the month of October wrote to him the letter printed in his Latin works with the date of the sixth of April, and this it is apparent he could not have done; the work to which the letter was annexed as a dedication, having been published at least before the month of August, and most probably in April, 1520. But as some

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"*Babylonica* conscripsit." *Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 27. *p.* 98. But in the interval between the publication of these two tracts, Luther also published a treatise in German, addressed to the emperor and the German nobility, in terms of such violence against the Roman see "ut etiam amici ejus libellum istum pro classico belli haberent." After noticing the contents of this work, Seckendorf adds, "Alter "libellus *mense Augusto* prodiit, titulum habens *De captivitate Baby-* "*lonica*," &c. *Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 28. *p.* 112.

some attempts have been made to impeach the accuracy of the Latin edition of the works of Luther, I shall offer a few remarks which may tend to prove its correctness, and more clearly to demonstrate that the date of the sixth of April is the genuine date of the letter in question.

This edition, which was begun in the year 1554,(a) was superintended by the particular friends of Luther soon after his death, and is preceded by a preface, written by his faithful adherent Nicholas Amsdorf. From this it appears that the writings of Luther had been previously collected without any proper attention to their order and arrangement; although it is of great importance, as Amsdorf observes, "to know *at what time* "each of them was published by their author." "For "many persons," adds he, "not having duly consider- "ed *the time*, have erred most scandalously, whilst "under the pretext of the writings of Luther, they "have undertaken *to reconcile Christ and Belial.* "Nor can it be denied that Luther, in the commence- "ment of the controversy, whilst he was still fascinat- "ed by the received opinions, imprudently conceded "many things to his adversaries."

"These and similar errors," says he, "which de- "formed the writings of Luther, excited the pious "mind of the son of our late illustrious elector, to de- "vise some method, by which the works of this holy man "might be given to the public in a pure, uncorrupt, "entire, and regular order, for the general use of the "church;

(a) It was carefully reprinted from the first edition, at Jena, in 1612, in four volumes; to which latter edition the references in this work are made.

" church; and might be transmitted to posterity faith-
" fully, and free from blemish. For this purpose he
" called from Denmark the venerable and learned
" Georgius Rorarius, to whom Luther himself had
" deputed this task, and established a printing-office at
" Jena, that all his works might be published with ex-
" act attention to the order of time, entire and unadul-
" terated, and without any interference from the com-
" ments of other persons."(a)

In the subsequent part of the preface, Amsdorf again insists upon the accuracy of this chronological order in the publication of the writings of Luther, as the great excellency of the work. " The reader must
" be informed," says he, " that by this first volume
" of the tracts of Luther, published in the years 1517,
" 18, 19, 20, and 21, a history is formed, which
" shews

(a) Postremò, Scripta Lutheri sine singulari cura ordinis collecta sunt, cum quidem plurimum referat scire, quo tempore *unumquodque* ab Autore editum sit. Nam multi, non considerata temporum serie, *turpiter hallucinantur*; dum prætextu scriptorum Lutheri, Christum et Belial conciliare student. Neque verò negari potest, virum Dei, sub initium controversiæ, cum adhuc fascinatus esset receptis opinionibus, et Monachorum exercitia magnificaret, quædam imprudenter scripsisse, et adversariis concessisse.

Hi et similes nævi, quibus scripta D. Martini Lutheri deformata erant, excitarunt piam mentem Illustrissimi Principis Electoris nati, laudatæ memoriæ, ut post divinam liberationem, de viis et rationibus cogitaret, quibus sancti Viri monumenta, propter publicam Ecclesiæ utilitatem, *purè, incorruptè, integrè, ordine,* et sine ullis medicamentis ederentur, et ad posteros optima fide transmitterentur. Itaque ex Dania vocavit venerandum et doctrina præstantem Virum, Dominum et fratrem meum in Christo charissimum, M. Georgium Rorarium, cui Lutherus ipse hoc negotii dederat, et officinam typographicam Jenæ instituit, ut omnes libri, quorum jam sæpe mentio facta est, *accurata temporum notatione adhibita,* integrè et inviolatè, ac procul remotis aliorum commentariis ederentur. *Præf. Amsd. in Luth. op.*

" shews the beginning and progress of the disputes " about religion, the causes that impelled Luther to the " contest, and that the light of the holy spirit became " gradually stronger and clearer in his mind."(a) After such declarations is it possible to suppose that the letter in question, prefixed to the treatise on Christian Liberty, printed with that treatise, with the date of the sixth of April, and followed in the works of Luther, at a considerable distance and after several intervening publications by the papal bull, was not written until after such bull had been issued? and even not until after the tract *De Captivitate Babylonica*, which was published in August, 1520, and appears in its proper place in the Jena edition of the works of Luther?

It is indeed surprising that any person who has paid the least attention to the subject, should not have perceived how inconsistent it would have been with the character of Luther, and how contradictory to his known declarations and conduct, to have addressed himself to the pope, after the issuing of the bull, in terms which could, on any construction, be supposed to have been pacific and conciliatory. From his own letters, it appears that he knew of the bull early in the month of July, and that he then formed a resolution never more to be reconciled, or hold communion with the church of Rome. " The " die is now cast;" says he, " the Roman fury and " the

(a) " Sciat igitur Lector, in hoc tomo librorum D. Lutheri, quos sub " initium controversiæ, anno 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. edidit, *recitari His-* " *toriam*, quæ docet *qualia fuerint initia et progressiones disputa-* " *tionum de Religione;* quæ causa Lutherum ad hæc certamina im- " pulerit, et quod lux spiritus sancti subinde clarior et firmior in " mente ipsius facta sit." *Amsd. ut sup.*

" the Roman favour are alike despised; I never more " will be reconciled with them, nor communicate with " them in future. Let them condemn and burn my " writings. I, in return, unless fire shall be wanting, " will condemn and publicly burn the whole pontifical " law; that is, that Hydra-heresy; and there shall be " an end of my hitherto fruitless obedience."*(a)* Whether Luther deviated from this his first resolution, sufficiently appears by his subsequent conduct.

Another striking indication of the disposition of Luther, appears in his treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica*. At the close of this work he also admits that he had heard of the bull and of the sentence of excommunication issued against him, unless he should renounce his errors; to which he ironically adds, " If this be true, let this " book be taken as a part of my retractation; and lest " they should think that their tyranny has produced no " effect, I shall soon, Christ willing, publish the re- " mainder, which shall abundantly testify my obedience, " in such a manner as the Roman see never saw or " heard of before."*(b)*

Thus far the declarations of Luther during the months of July and August next after the issuing of the papal

(a) " A me quidem, jacta mihi alea, contemptus est Romanus " furor et favor; nolo eis reconciliari nec communicare in perpetuum; " damnent lexurantque mea. Ego vicissim, nisi ignem habere ne- " queam, damnabo, publiceque concremabo Jus Pontificium totum, " id est, Lernam illam hæresium; et finem habebit humilitatis exhi- " bitæ hactenusque frustratæ observantia." *Ap. Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 27. *p.* 111.

(b) " Auditum enim audio, paratas esse denuo in me Bullas te " diras papisticas, quibus ad revocationem urgear, aut hæreticus de- " clarer.

papal bull. But it is yet more remarkable that in the month of October, and at the precise time when he is supposed to have written the letter in question, he still adhered to his former resolution, never more to be reconciled to the Roman see. In a letter of the thirteenth of that month, he declares that "as to the bull, respecting which others wrote so much to "the Roman court, he despised it, and would attack it as "false and impious, and in every respect, *Eccian.*"(a) If the supposition of my opponents were well founded, Luther assured Miltitz that he would write to the pope within twelve days from the *eleventh* of October, *modestly* and *humbly*, and would date such letter on the sixth day of September preceding, and prefix it to a book which he was then writing, and intended to send to the pontiff. What the sentiments of Luther were on the *thirteenth* of October we have just now seen, and that no alteration took place between the thirteenth and the thirtieth of the same month, may be inferred from another letter said to be nearly in the same words as the former;(b) and yet we are required to believe that during this precise interval Luther wrote to conciliate Leo X.

It must also be observed that from several passages in the letters of Luther at this period, it is evident that he

"clarer. Quæ si vera sunt, hunc libellum volo partem esse revoca-"tionis meæ futuræ, ne suam tyrannidem frustra inflatam querantur, "reliquam partem propediem editurus sum, talem, Christo propitio, "qualem hactenus non viderit nec audierit Romana sedes, obedien-"tiam meam abunde testaturus." *Luth. op. tom.* ii. *p.* 286.

(a) "Bulla ista Romana per Eccium allata, de qua nostri scribunt "ad Pontificem Plura; ego eam contemno, & *jam invado* tanquam "impiam et mendacem, omnibusque modis Eccianam." *Ap. Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 29. *p.* 114.

(b) *Seck. lib.* i. *sec.* 29. *p.* 115.

he was then preparing his two tracts before mentioned as an answer to the bull, which he published, and which appear in his works, with the date of the first day of December, 1520.*(a)* In the preface to the first of these, *Adversus execrabilem Antichristi Bullam*, he treats the bull as a surreptitious production; pretending that he is uncertain whether the papists are mocking him, or whether they are really so insane at Rome as to have issued such a bull. "However this may be," says he, "it is certainly not incredible, that where Eccius is the apostle, there will the reign of Antichrist be found, and every madness committed. In the mean time I shall be cautious in believing that Leo X. with his learned cardinals can have been the authors of such insanity; to which caution I am led, not so much by any desire to defend the honour of the Roman see, as that I may not myself be inflated by vain-glory, in having been found worthy to bear such a great and fortunate lot, for the sake of the truth of God. For if indeed the Roman pontiff thus rages against me, who can be happier in the sight of God than Luther, who is thus condemned by such high authority for such manifest truth; or what can I have to wish for, but that I should never be absolved or reconciled, nor ever more communicate with that most ignorant, most impious, and most ferocious Antichrist. Happy that day! Happy that death; to be received with joy and the highest gratitude to God, should I be destined to be found employed, and to perish in such a cause!

(a) It does not appear that Luther wrote any book after the publication of the bull, and before December, 1520, except these two tracts, neither of which could surely be the work which, as Miltitz informs us, he was then writing, *and intended to send as a peace-offering to the pope.*

" a cause!"*(a)* He then declares, in the presence of God and of Jesus Christ, the holy angels and the whole world, that he wholly dissents from the damnable doctrines of the bull, which he anathematizes and execrates, as the sacrilegious and blasphemous adversary of our Lord Jesus Christ. He asserts his own articles condemned by the bull, and proposes them to be believed by all christians, under pain of eternal damnation; declaring that he shall consider all those who assent to the bull as antichrists and as heathens.*(b)* Nor is he less severe, or less violent, in the work itself than in the preface. He there calls upon the pope and his

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(a) " Verum quicquid sit, mihi incredibile non est, ubi Apostolus " Eccius anditur et valet, ibi Antichristi regnum esse, et nihil non " insaniarum homines audere. Interim tamen agam, ne credam " Leonem X. Romanum Episcopum, cum suis eruditis cardinalibus, " esse harum insaniarum autores, quod non tam facio, ut Romani " nominis honorem custodiam, quam ne superbia nimis infler, et " dignus mihi videar, talia tam pulchra, tam gloriosa, pati pro " veritate Dei. Si enim vere Romanus Episcopus in me sic insani- " ret, quis Luthero coram Deo felicior esset, qui ob tam manifestam " veritatem a tanto vertice damnaretur? Quid enim optandum mihi " foret, quam ut nunquam absolverer, reconciliarer, communicarer " Antichristo isti indoctissimo, impiisimo, furiosissimo? Felix illa " dies, felix illa mors, cum gaudio et summa gratitudine Deo refe- " renda, si quando fiat, ut in ista causa me apprehendat, et perdat." *Luth. op. tom* 2. *p.* 287.

(b) " Existimationem igitur suam quisque habeat de Romanis, " Ego, quisquis fuerit hujus Bullæ autor, eum pro Antichristo habeo, " et contra Antichristum hæc scribo, redempturus veritatem Christi " quod in me fuerit, quam ille extinguere conatur. Atque primum, " ut nihil in me obtineat ex omnibus quæ voluit, protestor coram " Deo and Domino nostro Jesu Christo, et sanctis Angelis ejus, et " toto mundo, me dissentire toto corde damnationi hujus bullæ, quam " et maledico et execror, velut hostem sacrilegam et blasphemiam " Christi filii Dei et Domini nostri, Amen. Deinde assero et amplec- " tor fiducia tota spiritus mei articulos per eam damnatos, asse- " rendosque pronuntio omnibus Christianis, sub pæna æternæ ma- " ledictionis; et Antichristos habendos quicumque Bullæ consense- " rint,

his cardinals to repent of their errors, and put an end to their diabolical blasphemies, "otherwise," he adds, "be it known to you, that I and all other christians "shall consider your see as the seat of Antichrist, pos- "sessed by Satan himself; which not only will we not "obey, nor own ourselves subject to, or incorporated "with, but shall detest and execrate, as the chief enemy "of Christ; being prepared in this our decision, not "only to bear with joy your stupid censures, but even "to request that you will never absolve us, or number us "among your followers, as we would rather fulfil your "cruel tyranny by offering up to you our lives. If "then the spirit of Christ and the vigour of our faith "be of any avail, we in return condemn you, if you "persevere in your fury, and deliver over you and your "bull, with all your decretals to Satan, that by the de- "struction of the flesh your souls may be liberated "in the coming of the Lord. In the name of him "whom ye persecute, Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."*(a)*

In the foregoing passage Luther again refers to his invariable resolution of committing the bull, with the Roman

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"rint, quos et his scriptis, conjuncto mihi omnium spiritu qui purè "Christum cognoscunt et colunt, pro Ethnicis habeo et devito, se- "cundum præceptum ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi Amen. "Hæc mea Revocatio esto, o Bulla, vere Bullarum filia." *Luth. op. ut. sup.*

(a) "Te igitur Leo X. vos Domini Cardinales Romæ, et qui- "cunque Romæ aliquid estis, compello, et in faciem vobis libere "dico, si vestro nomine vestraque scientia hæc Bulla exivit, eamque "vestram agnoscitis, utar et ego potestate mea, qua in baptismo, "per Dei misericordiam factus sum filius Dei, et cohæres Christi, "fundatus supra firmam petram, quæ nec portas inferi, nec cælum, "nec terram formidat, et dico, moneo, hortor vos in Domino, ut "ad cor redeatis, istis diabolicis blasphemiis, et plus valde nimio "audacibus impietatibus modum ponatis; atque id cito. Quod nisi "feceritis

Roman decretals, to the flames; a resolution which he carried into effect at Wittemberg on the tenth day of December, 1520; and thus accomplished in their full extent the threats, which, as we have seen, he had thrown out as early as the month of July preceding.

The real feelings and conduct of Luther on this occasion are to be judged of, not from the letters of the papal agent, who might misrepresent him to the pope, but from his own undoubted declarations and writings, which form an almost uninterrupted series, and in which he uniformly attacks the Roman court with a degree of violence, wholly inconsistent with the idea, that he had ever, from the issuing of the bull, entertained the slightest hope or wish for reconciliation. By this bull, it must be remembered, that forty one points of doctrine, asserted by Luther, were condemned as heretical and scandalous. Can it then be supposed that he would have deserted the defence of his opinions, to write, as is pretended, a humble letter to the pope, for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation? If he could have been guilty of such a dereliction of his principles, it would have subjected him, in reality, to the hypothetical animadversions of Mosheim,

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" feceritis, scitote me, cum omnibus qui Christum colunt, vestram
" sedem, a Satano ipso possessam et oppressam, pro sede damnata
" Antichristi habere, cui non modo non obediamus, aut subditi et con-
" corporati esse velimus, sed detestamur et execramur, sicut princi-
" pem et summum hostem Christi; parati pro hac sententia nostra,
" stultas vestras censuras non modo cum gaudio ferre, sed etiam ro-
" gare ne unquam nos absolvatis, aut inter vestros numeretis, quin
" ut cruentam vestram tyrrannidem expleatis, ad mortem nos ultra
" offerimus. Quod si quid spiritus Christi et impetus fidei nostræ va-
" let, his scriptis, si perseveraveritis in furore isto, vos damnamus et
" una cum Bulla ista, omnibusque Decretalibus Satanæ tradimus, in
" interitum carnis ut spiritus vester in die Domini nobiscum liberetur.
" In nomine, quem vos persequimini, Jesu Christi Domini nostri.
" Amen." *Luth. op. tom. 2. p. 289.*

Mosheim, which, although applied to Luther after the confirmatory bull of excommunication, in 1521, would have been equally proper on this occasion. "To sub-"mit to the orders of a cruel and insolent enemy, "would have been the greatest degree of imprudence "imaginable; and to embrace anew, errors that he "had rejected with a just indignation, and exposed "with the clearest evidence, would have discovered a "want of integrity and principle worthy only of the "most abandoned profligate."*(a)*

After this explicit statement, I might in my turn accuse my opponents of having engaged in this discussion without having previously paid sufficient attention to the subject, and of having rashly contended for such a construction of the conduct of Luther, as would have led to consequences of which they were not aware; but I am so far from retorting their censures, that I feel gratified by the opportunity which their remarks have afforded me, of obviating the only charge of an error in point of fact, which has hitherto been brought against my work; and at the same time of examining, still more particularly, the conduct of Luther, at one of the most critical and active periods of his life, and removing from the records of ecclesiastical history an important error, highly injurious to the great reformer, and to which several protestant writers, subsequent to Seckendorf, have incautiously given their support.

I cannot however finally quit this subject without some notice

(a) *Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. by Macleane, vol.* ii. *p.* 29.

notice of the charges which have so generally been connected with those before-mentioned, and by which it has been insinuated, or asserted, that I have endeavoured to discredit the characters of the early reformers, and to depreciate the beneficial effects of the reformation, as well by a reference to the well-known persecution of Servetus, as on other occasions. In answer to this I must be allowed to observe, that the idea that the following work is hostile to the reformation, is a misrepresentation, industriously circulated by those who, under the pretext of a warm attachment to the cause of protestantism, are as adverse to all religious liberty as the most bigotted Roman Catholic; and that whoever peruses the following pages with an impartial eye, cannot fail to discover, that so far from depreciating the beneficial effects of the reformation, I have only had to regret that it was not carried to the full extent for which its promoters originally contended. To this I can add, with great sincerity, that in adverting to the persecutions of which protestants have been guilty, my only object has been to excite that abhorrence of persecution, under every form and pretext, which is the surest safeguard against its return. If it should appear, as has been imputed to me, that I have animadverted with more severity on the protestants than on the papists, it is because better things were to have been expected from them; because they who asserted the right of private judgment in themselves, ought not to have denied it to others; because they who have represented the cruelties and persecutions of the church of Rome as the greatest of her abominations, ought to have been peculiarly cautious how they gave rise to similar charges against themselves; and lastly, because it is more painful to perceive

ceive a disgraceful blot among those with whom we are nearly associated, than among those who are further removed from us in principles and opinions. Hence the persecution of Servetus, conducted by Calvin, and approved by Bullinger and Melancthon, has been exhibited in those colours which it so justly merits; and should, if it were in my power, be still further raised up, as a perpetual beacon, to guard mankind against the possible recurrence of an event which outrages at once the feelings of humanity, the dictates of common sense, and the religion of Christ. It is not on the doctrinal tenets of any established church, whatever its adherents may believe, that we are to rely for the rejection of those intolerant and persecuting principles which have for so many ages disgraced the Roman see. "Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of "the reformed church in their respective countries, "inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, "the same punishments which were denounced against "their own disciples by the church of Rome, on such "as called in question any article in their creeds." (*a*) To have freed the human race from the dread of violence and persecution, in the exercise of religion and the pursuit of truth, would have conferred greater honour on Luther than the enforcement of any dogmatical opinions whatever. To his good intentions and incorruptible integrity, the following work bears uniform and ample testimony; but with the restraints of his superiors, Luther could not shake off the trammels of his education; and his highest aim was only to establish another despotism in the place of that from which he had himself escaped. In thus sanctioning, by his opinion and example, the continuance of an exterior and positive control over the consciences of mankind, he confirmed the pretensions of the Roman see; and may more

(*a*) Robertson's Charles V. book ii.

more justly be said to have shared its authority, than to have invalidated its unjust assumptions. But the principles of toleration are derived from higher views; from an enlarged idea of the wisdom, the goodness, and the impartiality of the supreme Being, from the cultivation of generous and social affections; and in short, from the exercise of the christian religion as taught by its great founder, and not as perverted by the ambition, the obstinacy, or the ignorance of his erring followers.

I trust it will be understood that I have not engaged in the foregoing discussions without great reluctance. To malicious misrepresentations, ignorant cavils, and illiberal abuse, I entertain the most perfect indifference; but in this instance, an error of some importance has been gravely imputed to me. I could not expect that my readers in general, should enter upon an examination of the different writers on this subject, and a long investigation of historical and ecclesiastical evidence to determine between me and my censors, and I have therefore thought it necessary to illustrate the subject by further authorities, and to confirm the opinion which I have before advanced. I feel it a duty towards those who have honoured my writings with their approbation, not to suffer them to be depricated by an unfounded charge in a point of historical fact; and a still greater duty not to relinquish the defence of those principles of liberty, of toleration, and of truth, which I have hitherto invariably asserted, and which I shall continue to maintain, independent alike either of censure or of praise.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF FROISSART.

JOHN FROISSART, prieſt, canon, and treaſurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, hiſtorian and poet, was born in Valenciennes, a town in Hainault, about the year 1337. This date, which appears contradicted by one ſingle paſſage in his Chronicle, is confirmed by a number of others, as well in his Chronicle, as in his manuſcript poems.

Attentive as he was to inform us of the moſt minute particulars of his life, he does not ſay one word relative to his family. It can only be conjectured from a paſſage in his poems, that his father's name was Thomas, and that he was a painter of arms.

We find in his Hiſtory a Froiſſart Meullier, a young knight from Hainault, who ſignalized himſelf by his valour at the ſiege of the caſtle of Figueras in Spain, which the Engliſh and Gaſcons attacked in 1381. His country and name induce me to believe that our hiſtorian might be a relation of his, and like him ſprung from a noble family.

Froiſſart is deſcribed as a knight, at the beginning of a manuſcript in the abbey of St. Germain des prez; but as he has not this title in any other manuſcript, though we have ſome of the moſt ancient, and moſt authentic; it ſeems probable, that the copyiſt has given it to him from his own authority.

His infancy announced what he would one day be; he early manifeſted that eager and inquiſitive mind, which during the courſe of his life never allowed him to remain long attached to the ſame occupations, nor to continue long in the ſame place.

The different games ſuitable to that age, of which he gives us a picture equally curious and amuſing, kept up in his mind a natural propenſity to diſſipation, which during his early ſtudies muſt have tried the patience as well as exerciſed the ſeverity of his maſters.

He loved hunting, muſic, aſſemblies, feaſts, dancing, dreſs, good living, wine, and women: theſe taſtes, which almoſt all ſhowed themſelves from twelve years of age, being confirmed by habit, were continued even to his old age, and perhaps never left him. Neither the ſerious thoughts nor the affections of Froiſſart being yet ſufficiently engaged, his love for hiſtory filled up the void, which his paſſion for pleaſure left; and became to him an inexhauſtible ſource of amuſement.

He had juſt left ſchool, and was ſcarcely twenty years old, when at the intreaty of *his dear lord and patron ſir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort*, he undertook to write the hiſtory of the wars of his

own time, more particularly of thoſe which enſued after the battle of Poitiers. Four years afterwards, having gone to England, he preſented a part of this hiſtory to queen Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III. Young as he then was, he had already travelled into the moſt diſtant provinces of France. The object of his viſit to England was to tear himſelf from an attachment which had tormented him for a long time. This paſſion took poſſeſſion of his heart from his infancy; it laſted ten years, and ſparks of it were again rekindled in a more advanced age, *in ſpite of his bald head and white hairs.*

When poets ſing their loves, they are not always believed on their word; as Froiſſart only mentions his in poetry, all he ſays may be treated as pure fiction; but the portrait he draws is ſo natural, that we cannot but acknowledge the character of a young man in love, and the ſimple expreſſions of a real paſſion.

He feigns, that when twelve years old Mercury appeared to him followed by the three Goddeſſes whoſe difference Paris had formerly decided; that this God, calling to mind the protection he had given him from four years of age, ordered him to reviſe the diſpute of theſe three divinities; that he had confirmed the judgment of Paris; and that Venus had promiſed him, as a recompence, a miſtreſs more beautiful than the fair Helen, and of ſuch high birth, that from the ſcene of the poem to Conſtantinople there was not earl, duke, king, nor emperor, who would not have eſteemed himſelf

fortunate in obtaining her. He was to ſerve this beauty for ten years, and his whole life was to be devoted to the adoration of that divinity who had made him ſuch fair promiſes.

Froiſſart had been early attached to romances; that of Cleomades was the firſt inſtrument by which love was enabled to captivate him. He found it in the hands of a young maiden who invited him to read it with her: he readily conſented, for ſuch complaiſant attentions coſt little. There was ſoon formed between them a literary connexion. Froiſſart lent her the romance of the *Baillou d'Amours**, and availed himſelf of the opportunity to ſlip into it a ballad, in which he firſt ſpoke of his love. This ſpark of affection became a flame which nothing could extinguiſh; and Froiſſart having experienced all that agitation which a firſt paſſion inſpires, was almoſt reduced to deſpair on hearing that his miſtreſs was on the point of being married; his exceſſive grief overwhelmed him, and cauſed him a fit of illneſs which laſted three months. The beſt reſolution he could take was to travel in order to diſſipate his chagrin, and to recover his health. As his journey was performed with a large company, he was forced to hide his trouble by more than ordinary attention to the common obſervances of ſociety. After two days travelling, during which he had never ceaſed making verſes in honour of his miſtreſs, he arrived at a town, which I believe to be Calais, where he em-

* M. de St. Palaye, in a note, ſays he is not acquainted with this romance. Baillou ſignifies Baillif.

barked.

barked. During his paſſage the weather was ſo tempeſtuous as to threaten an immediate wreck of the veſſel: this however was not capable of ſuſpending his application in finiſhing a rondeau which he had begun in honour of his love. The weather became calm, and the rondeau was completed, when he found himſelf on a coaſt, where, as he ſays, *they love war better than peace, and where ſtrangers are well received.* He ſpeaks of England; the reception given him, the amuſements procured for him in the ſocieties of "lords, ladies, and damſels," and the careſſes they loaded him with: but nothing was able to calm the melancholy which overwhelmed him; ſo that, not being able longer to ſupport the pangs of abſence, he reſolved to return nearer to the lady of his heart.

Queen Philippa of Hainault detained him in England, and learnt from a virelay, which he preſented to her, the cauſe of his trouble; ſhe took compaſſion on him, by ordering him to go back to his own country, on condition however of his promiſe to return, and furniſhed him with money and horſes to perform the journey.

Love ſoon conducted him to the lady of his affections. Froiſſart let no opportunity ſlip of frequenting whatever company ſhe might honour with her preſence, and of converſing with her. We have before ſeen ſhe was of ſuch high birth, that "kings and emperors might have ſought her;" theſe words taken literally would only be applicable to a perſon of blood royal or the iſſue of a ſovereign prince; but how can we connect the idea of ſuch high birth with the detail he gives us of the ſecret

converſations, the amuſements, and aſſemblies, which he was at liberty to partake of by day or night? and, as if theſe traits were not ſufficient to make her known at the time he wrote, he ſeems to have wiſhed to point her out more clearly by the name of Anne, in the enigmatical verſes which make part of his manuſcript poems. It may be preſumed that this love, ſo paſſionate and tender, had the uſual fate of almoſt every paſſion.

Froiſſart ſpeaks in one of his rondeaus of another lady whom he had loved, and whoſe name, compoſed of five letters, was to be found in that of Polixena; this may be an Alix, which was formerly written Aelix. There is reaſon to believe he had a third flame called Margaret, and that it is ſhe whom he indirectly celebrates in a poem *, under the title, and in honour of the flower which bears her name †.

Perhaps he ſought in theſe epiſodical amours ſome remedy for a paſſion, which according to his own account was unfortunate. At leaſt we know that, in deſpair for the little ſucceſs which had attended all his aſſiduities and attentions to his firſt miſtreſs, he took the reſolution of again abſenting himſelf from her. This abſence was longer than the preceding one; he returned to England, and attached himſelf to the ſervice of queen Philippa.

* Dittie de la fleur de la Margherite, pages 70 and the following of his manuſcript poems.

† The Engliſh reader muſt be informed, that Marguerite is not only the name of a woman, but alſo of the flower called daiſey, and of a pearl.

This

This princeſs, ſiſter to the counteſs of Namur, wife of Robert, on whom Froiſſart ſeems to have been a dependant, ſaw always with pleaſure her countrymen from Hainault; ſhe loved letters; and the college which ſhe founded, at this day known at Oxford under the name of Queen's college, is an illuſtrious monument of the protection ſhe granted to them; Froiſſart therefore united all the titles which could merit the affection of queen Philippa.

The hiſtory which he preſented to her, as I have before mentioned, whether at the time of his firſt journey or his ſecond, (for it is not poſſible to decide which of the two,) was very well received, and probably gained him the title of clerk (that is to ſay ſecretary or writer) of the chamber to this princeſs, which he was in poſſeſſion of from 1361.

In the age of Froiſſart, all the world was perſuaded that love was the incentive to the moſt brilliant actions of courage and virtue. Knights made a parade of it in tournaments. Warriors expoſed themſelves to the moſt perilous combats, to maintain the honour and beauty of their ladies. It was then believed that love might be confined to a delicate intercourſe of gallantry and tenderneſs: it is almoſt always under this form that we ſee it repreſented in the greater part of thoſe literary and poetical efforts which have been handed down to us from that period; the ladies bluſhed not in feeling ſo pure a paſſion, and the moſt modeſt of them made it the ordinary ſubject of their converſations.

The queen of England frequently amuſed herſelf by making Froiſſart compoſe amorous ditties; but

this occupation muſt be conſidered ſolely as a relaxation no way impeding more ſerious works, ſince, during the five years he was attached to the ſervice of this princeſs, he travelled at her expence to various parts of Europe, the object of which journey ſeems to have been a reſearch after whatever might enrich his hiſtory. I draw this concluſion from a preface which is found at the head of the fourth volume in ſeveral manuſcripts of the Chronicle of Froiſſart; and, as it is not to be found in the printed copies*, I thought the inſertion of it would not be improper here.

"At the requeſt, wiſh, and pleaſure, of that moſt "high and noble prince, my very dear lord and pa- "tron Guy de Châtillon, count de Blois, lord of "Aveſne, of Chimay, of Beaumont, of Schonoven, "of Gouda; I John Froiſſart, prieſt, chaplain to "my very dear lord above named, and at this time "treaſurer and canon of Chimay, and of Lille in "Flanders, am again awakened, and entered into "my workſhop, to labour and work at the grand "and noble matters that, in former times, occupied "my attention, which treat of and examine the feats "and events of the wars between France and Eng- "land, and all their allies and adherents, as they

* M. de St. Palaye is not quite correct; for the beginning of this preface is in the printed edition of Verard, and in another printed edition which I believe was not known to Denys Sauvage nor to M. de St. Palaye. It will be more paticularly mentioned hereafter. The preface in my printed editions is not ſo long as this, and ſomewhat different. It is not noticed in the editions of Denys Sauvage.

"clearly

" clearly appear from the treaties which have been
" made and completed until this very day of my
" again being awakened.

" Now, you who read, have read, or ſhall read
" this hiſtory, conſider in your own minds, how I
" could have known, and collected the facts of which
" I treat, concerning ſo many different parties. In
" truth, I muſt inform you that I began my collec-
" tions at the early age of twenty years, and came
" into the world at the time theſe events were paſſ-
" ing, in the knowledge of which I have always
" taken greater pleaſure than in any thing elſe.
" God has been ſo gracious to me, that I was well
" with all parties, and of the houſehold of kings;
" more eſpecially of king Edward's and his noble
" queen's, the lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of
" England, lady of Ireland and of Acquitaine, to
" whom in my youth I was ſecretary, and amuſed
" her with gallant ditties and madrigals of love;
" through affection to that noble and puiſſant lady
" to whom I belonged, all the other great lords,
" dukes, earls, barons, and knights, of whatever
" nation they might be, loved me, ſaw me with
" pleaſure, and were of the greateſt ſervice to me.
" Thus, under the protection of this good lady, and
" at her coſt, as well as at the expence of great
" lords, I have ſearched in my time the greater part
" of Chriſtendom (in truth who ſeeks will find);
" and wherever I came, I made inquiry after ſuch
" ancient knights and ſquires as had been preſent at
" theſe deeds of arms, and ſuch as were well en-
" abled to ſpeak of them. I ſought alſo for heralds

" of

" of good repute, to verify and confirm what I " might have heard elſewhere of theſe matters. In " this manner have I collected the materials for this " noble hiſtory; and that gallant count de Blois " before mentioned, has taken great pains in it. As " long as through God's grace I ſhall live, I ſhall " continue it, for the more I work at it, the greater " pleaſure I receive; like the gallant knight or " ſquire enamoured with arms, who by perſeverance " and attention perfects and accompliſhes himſelf, " thus by labouring and working on this ſubject, I " acquire greater ability and delight."

Of all the particulars of Froiſſart's life during his reſidence in England, we only know that he was preſent at the ſeparation of the king and queen in 1361, with their ſon the prince of Wales and the princeſs his lady, who were going to take poſſeſſion of the government of Acquitaine; and that he was between Eltham and Weſtminſter in the year 1363, when king John paſſed on his return to England.

There is in his poems a paſtoral, which ſeems to allude exclusively and undoubtedly to that event. With regard to his travels during the time he was attached to the ſervice of the queen, he employed ſix months in Scotland, and penetrated as far as the Highlands. He travelled on horſeback with his portmanteau behind him, and followed by a greyhound.

The king of Scotland, and many lords whoſe names he has preſerved to us, treated him ſo handſomely, that he wiſhed to have returned thither. William earl of Douglas lodged him during fifteen days in his caſtle of Dalkeith, five miles from Edinburgh.

We

We are ignorant of the date of this journey; and of another, into North Wales, which I believe muſt have been about the ſame time.

He was in France, at Melun ſur Seine, about the 20th of April 1366; perhaps private reaſons might have led him to take that road to Bourdeaux, where he was on All Saints day of that year, when the princeſs of Wales was brought to bed of a ſon, who was afterwards Richard II. The prince of Wales ſetting out a few days after this event for the war in Spain, Froiſſart accompanied him to Dax, where the prince reſided ſome time. He expected to have attended him during the continuance of this grand expedition; but the prince would not permit him to go farther, and ſhortly after his arrival ſent him back to the queen his mother.

Froiſſart could not have made any long ſtay in England, for the following year he was at different Italian courts. It was this ſame year, that is to ſay 1368, that Lionel duke of Clarence, ſon of the king of England, eſpouſed Joland, daughter of Galeazo the ſecond, duke of Milan. The marriage was celebrated the 25th of April; and Lionel died the 17th of October following. Froiſſart, who probably was in his ſuite, was preſent at the magnificent reception which Amadeus count de Savoye, ſurnamed the count Verd, gave him on his return: he deſcribes the feaſts on this occaſion, which laſted three days; and he does not forget to tell us that they danced a virelay of his compoſition.

From the court of Savoy he returned to Milan, where the ſame count Amadeus gave him a hand-

ſome

ſome Cottehardie *, with twenty florins of gold; and thence he went to Bologna and Ferrara, where he received forty ducats from the king of Cyprus; and then to Rome.

Inſtead of the modeſt equipage with which we have ſeen him travel into Scotland, he was now a man of importance, travelling on a handſome horſe attended by a hackney.

It was about this period that Froiſſart experienced a loſs for which nothing could compenſate. Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, who had loaded him with wealth, died in 1369. He compoſed a lay on this melancholy event, of which however he was not a witneſs; for he ſays, in another place, that in 1395 it was 27 years ſince he had ſeen England. According to ſeveral authors †, he wrote the life of queen Philippa; but this aſſertion is not founded on any proofs.

Independently of the employment of clerk of the chamber to the queen of England, which Froiſſart had held, he had alſo been of the houſehold of Edward III. and even of that of John king of France. As there are ſeveral other princes and lords of whoſe houſeholds he had been, whom he calls his

* Or, as it is more often written, *Cotardie*, a ſort of dreſs common to men and women; here it means a Pourpoint. This was one of the acts of generoſity which great lords were accuſtomed to perform; they put money into the purſe, which, according to the uſage of that time, was attached to the coat. ST. PALAYE.

† Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Latinis, lib. 3. cap. 4. Bullart, Académie des Sciences, tom. I. p. 124.

lords

lords and patrons, it is proper to obſerve that by this mode of ſpeech, he means not only thoſe princes and lords to whom he had been attached as a dependant, but likewiſe thoſe who had made him preſents, or rendered him ſervices, or who, having received him in their courts or caſtles, had admitted him to their tables.

Froiſſart, having loſt his patroneſs queen Philippa, did not return to England, but went into his own country, where he obtained the living of Leſtines. Of all that he performed during the time he exerciſed this miniſtry, he tells us nothing more than that the tavern-keepers of Leſtines had five hundred francs of his money in the ſhort ſpace of time he was their rector. It appears from a manuſcript Journal of the biſhop of Chartres, chancellor to the duke of Anjou, that, according to letters ſealed on the 12th December, 1381, this prince cauſed to be ſeized fifty-ſix quires of the Chronicle of Froiſſart, rector of the pariſh church of Leſtines, which the hiſtorian had ſent to be illuminated, and then to be forwarded to the king of England, the enemy of France.

Froiſſart attached himſelf afterwards to Winceſlaus de Luxembourg duke of Brabant, perhaps in the capacity of ſecretary, according to the cuſtom of princes and lords in thoſe days, who employed clerks to manage their affairs, and their correſpondence, and at the ſame time to amuſe them by their knowledge, or their wit.

Winceſlaus had a taſte for poetry: he had cauſed Froiſſart to make a collection of his ſongs, his rondeaus

deaus and virelays, who adding ſome of his own pieces to thoſe of the prince, formed a ſort of romance, under the title of Meliador, or the knight of the Sun; but the duke did not live to ſee the completion of the work, for he died in 1384.

Almoſt immediately after this event, Froiſſart found another patron: he was made clerk of the chapel to Guy count de Blois, and was not long in teſtifying his gratitude to his new patron, by a paſtoral on the betrothing of Louis count de Dunois, ſon of Guy, to Mary daughter of the duke of Berry. Two years after, on the ſolemnization of this marriage at Bourges, he celebrated it in a ſort of Epithalamium, ſufficiently ingenious for thoſe times, intituled "The Temple of Honour."

He paſſed the years 1385, 1386, and 1387, ſometimes in the Blaiſois, ſometimes in Touraine; but the count de Blois having engaged him to continue his hiſtory which he had left unfiniſhed, he determined in 1388 to take advantage of the peace juſt concluded, to viſit the court of Gaſton Phœbus count de Foix and de Béarn, in order to gain full information of whatever related to foreign countries, and the more diſtant provinces of the kingdom, where he knew that a great number of warriors ſignalized themſelves daily by the moſt gallant actions.

His age and his health ſtill allowed him to bear great fatigue; his memory was ſufficiently ſtrong, to retain whatever he ſhould hear; and his judgment clear enough, to point out to him the uſe he ſhould make of it.

He

He ſet out with letters of recommendation from the count du Blois, to Gaſton Phœbus, and took the road through Avignon. One of his paſtorals informs us, that he reſided in the environs of an abbey*, ſituated between Lunel and Montpelier, and that he gained the affections of a young perſon, who bewailed his departure: in the ſame poem he tells us, that he carried with him four greyhounds †, as a preſent to the count de Foix. Gaſton was paſſionately fond of dogs, and had upwards of ſixteen hundred always in his kennel: there is extant a treatiſe written by him on hunting, which is preſerved in manuſcript in ſeveral libraries, and was printed in 1520.

Froiſſart went from Carcaſſonne to Pamiers, of which he gives an agreeable deſcription: he remained there three days waiting for the chance of meeting ſome perſon with whom he might travel into Béarn. He was fortunate enough to meet with a knight from the county of Foix, who was returning thither from Avignon, and they journeyed together.

Sir Eſpaing du Lyon, the name of the knight, was a man of high diſtinction, who had conſiderable commands, and had been employed all his life in negociations as delicate as they were important. The two travellers agreed perfectly well; the

* Probably St. Geniez, a monaſtery of nuns, one league and a half from the road which leads from Montpelier to Lunel. ST. PALAYE.

† Their names were Triſtan, Hector, Brun, and Rollant. ST. PALAYE.

knight,

knight, who had ſerved in all the wars in Gaſcony, was equally deſirous to learn every thing which related to thoſe that Froiſſart was acquainted with; and Froiſſart, more in a ſituation to ſatisfy him than any one, was not leſs curious to be informed of thoſe events in which the knight had borne a part: they mutually communicated all they knew, with a reciprocal complaiſance. They rode ſide by ſide, and frequently only a foot's pace: their whole journey was paſſed in converſations; by which they mutually inſtructed each other.

Towns, caſtles, ruins, plains, heights, valleys, defiles; every thing awakened the curioſity of Froiſſart, and recalled to the memory of ſir Eſpaing du Lyon the different Actions which had there paſſed under his eyes, or which he had heard related by thoſe who had been engaged in them.

The hiſtorian, too circumſtantial in the recital which he gives us of theſe converſations, relates even the exclamations by which he teſtified his gratitude to the knight, for all the intereſting intelligence he was pleaſed to give him.

If they arrived at a town before ſun-ſet, they availed themſelves of the remnant of the day to examine the out-works of the place, or to obſerve thoſe parts of it which had ſuffered from aſſaults. On their return to the inn, they continued the ſame converſations, either between themſelves or with other knights and eſquires, who might be lodged there; and Froiſſart never went to bed until he had put down in writing every particular he had heard.

After

After a journey of ſix days, they arrived at Ortez. This town, one of the moſt conſiderable in Béarn, was the ordinary reſidence of Gaſton count de Foix and viſcount de Béarn, ſurnamed Phœbus, on account of his beauty. Froiſſart could not have choſen a court more ſuitable to his views. The count de Foix, at the age of fifty-nine, was the moſt vigorous, the handſomeſt, and beſt-made man of that period. Adroit at all exerciſes, valorous, an accompliſhed captain, noble and magnificent, he never ſuffered any warrior who was his gueſt to depart without carrying away proofs of his liberality: his caſtle was the rendezvous of all thoſe brave captains who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in combats, or in tournaments. Their converſations ſolely ran on attacks of places, ſurprizes, ſieges, aſſaults, ſkirmiſhes, and battles. Their amuſements were games of addreſs and ſtrength, tilts, tournaments, and the chace, more laborious and hardly leſs dangerous than war itſelf. Theſe details deſerve to be read in Froiſſart: I can only imperfectly trace what he has ſo excellently painted.

The count de Foix, having learnt from ſir Eſpaing du Lyon the arrival of Froiſſart, who was well known at the court of Ortez by the two firſt volumes of his Chronicle, ſent to ſeek him at the houſe of one of his eſquires, who had received and lodged him; and, ſeeing him at a diſtance, ſaid to him ſmiling, and in good French, "that he was perfectly well acquainted with him, although he had never ſeen him before; but that he had heard much

" much talk of him, and he retained him in his " houſehold."

This expreſſion, as I have before ſaid, does not mean that Froiſſart was lodged in the caſtle, but only that his expences were defrayed by the count during the winter he paſſed at his court. His moſt uſual occupation, during that time, was to amuſe Gaſton, after his ſupper, by reading to him the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him. Every evening he repaired to the caſtle at midnight, which was the hour the Count ſat down to table, and none dared to interrupt the reading. Gaſton himſelf, who liſtened with the greateſt attention, only ſpoke to aſk queſtions concerning the book; and he never ſent him away, before he had made him drink all the wine which had remained on the table, from his own bottle.

Sometimes this prince took pleaſure to inform him of thoſe particulars of the wars in which he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Froiſſart did not gain leſs information from his frequent converſations with the knights and eſquires whom he found aſſembled at Ortez; more eſpecially from the knights of Arragon and of England, attached to the houſehold of the duke of Lancaſter, who at that time reſided at Bourdeaux. They related to him all they knew of the battles of the kings John of Caſtille, and John of Portugal, and their allies. Among others, the famous Baſtot de Mauléon, in giving him the hiſtory of his own life, related to him alſo the particulars of almoſt all the wars which had taken place in the different

ferent provinces of France, and even in Spain, from the time of the battle of Poitiers, at which period he firſt bore arms.

Although he applied himſelf, without relaxation, to collect hiſtorical memoirs, Froiſſart gave, however, ſome moments to poetry. We have a paſtoral, by him, which he ſeems to have compoſed in the County of Foix, in honour of Gaſton Phœbus. He ſays, that being

> En beau Pré vert et plaiſant
> Par deſſus Gave la riviere
> Entre Pau et Ortais ſéant,

he ſaw ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes who were converſing of different lords, and the arms they bore. He adroitly makes uſe of this fiction, to name with praiſe all thoſe from whom he had received any marks of liberality, and terminates his liſt with the count de Foix.

After a long reſidence at the court of Ortez, Froiſſart began to think of his departure. He was detained by Gaſton, who gave him hopes that an opportunity would ſoon offer for him to travel in good company. The marriage of the counteſs of Boulogne, a relation of the count, having been concluded with the duke of Berry, the young bride was conducted from Ortez to Morlas, where the equipages of the duke, her huſband, were waiting for her. He ſet out in her ſuite, after having received proofs of the generoſity of Gaſton, who warmly preſſed him to return. He accompanied the princeſs to Avignon, and during the remainder

of the journey which ſhe took acroſs the Lyonnois, la Breſſe, le Forès, and the Bourbonnois, as far as Riom, in Auvergne.

The ſtay at Avignon was unfortunate to Froiſſart, for he was robbed there. This melancholy adventure was the ſubject of a long poem, in which he introduces ſeveral incidents of his life, and which I have made uſe of in this memoir.

This poem ſhews that the deſire of viſiting the tomb of the Cardinal de Luxembourg, who died with the reputation of a ſaint, was not the ſole motive which had induced him to paſs again through Avignon in the ſuite of the young princeſs; but that he was charged with a private commiſſion from the lord de Couci. He might, as he ſays, have endeavoured to ſeek redreſs for the loſs of his money by ſoliciting a benefice; but this reſource was not to his taſte. He laid greater ſtreſs on the generoſity of the lord de la Riviere, and the count de Sancerre, who accompanied the ducheſs of Berry, and on that of the viſcount d'Aſci. He repreſents himſelf, in this poem, as a man of much expence: beſides the revenue of the living of Leſtines, which was conſiderable, he had received, ſince he was twenty-five years old, two thouſand francs, of which nothing remained. The collection for his work had coſt him ſeven hundred francs; but he regretted not this expence; for, as he ſays, "I have "compoſed many a hiſtory which will be ſpoken of "by poſterity." The remainder was ſpent among the tavern-keepers at Leſtinces, and in his travels, which he always performed with a good equipage,

well mounted, well dreſſed, and living well where-ever he went.

Froiſſart had been preſent at all the feaſts which were given on the marriage of the duke of Berry; and celebrated the eve of Whitſunday at Rion, in Auvergne. He compoſed a paſtoral for the morrow of the nuptials; and returning to France with the lord de la Riviere, he went to Paris. His natural activity, and his ardour for information, which inceſſantly occupied his mind, did not permit him to remain there long. We have ſeen him in ſix months go from the Blaiſois to Avignon, then to the county of Foix; whence he returned again to Avignon, croſſing Auvergne to go to Paris. He was in leſs than two years ſucceſſively in the Cambreſis, in Haynault, Holland, Picardy, a ſecond time in Paris, at the extremity of Languedoc; then again at Paris and at Valenciennes; whence he went to Bruges, Sluys, in Zealand, and at laſt into his own country.

He accompanied the lord de Couci into the Cambreſis to the caſtle of Crevecœur, which the king had juſt given to him; to whom he related all he had ſeen, and learnt from him the different particulars of the negociations between France and England.

After having ſtaid fifteen days in his own country, he paſſed a month in Holland with the count de Blois, entertaining him with the hiſtory of his travels. He then went to Lelinghen, to learn the details of the negociations for peace, which were carrying on at that place, and was preſent at the magnificent entry of Iſabella of Bavaria into Paris.

The exactneſs with which he deſcribes the ceremonies obſerved between the pope and Charles VI. at Avignon, ſeems to prove that he was an eye witneſs of their meeting: this is the more probable, becauſe it is certain that Charles VI. went from Avignon to Toulouſe, to receive the homage of the count de Foix; when Froiſſart was preſent, and heard their converſation.

Nothing of novelty paſſed, of which Froiſſart did not wiſh to be a ſpectator; feaſts, tournaments, conferences for peace, interviews of princes, their entries, nothing eſcaped his curioſity. It appears, that, at the beginning of the year 1390, he returned to his own country, and that he was ſolely occupied in the continuation of his hiſtory, and in completing it, from the intelligence he had amaſſed from all parts with ſo much labour and fatigue. However, what he had learnt relative to the war in Spain did not ſatisfy him; he felt a ſcruple at only having heard one ſide; that is to ſay the Gaſcons and Spaniards, who had been attached to the king of Caſtille. It was the duty of an exact and judicious hiſtorian to know alſo what the Portugueſe had to ſay on this ſubject: and, on the information he had, that numbers of that nation were to be found at Bruges, he went thither.

Fortune ſerved him beyond his hopes; and the enthuſiaſm with which he ſpeaks of it, evinces the ardour he felt for a perfect knowledge of facts. On his arrival, he learnt that a Portugueze knight, "a "valiant and wiſe man, and of the council of the "king of Portugal," whoſe name was Juan Fernando

nando Portelet, had lately come to Middleburgh, in Zealand.

Portelet was on his road to Pruſſia to join in the war againſt the infidels, and had been preſent in all the wars of Portugal. Froiſſart immediately ſet out, in company with a Portugueze, a friend of the knight; went to Sluys, embarked, and arrived at Middleburgh, where his fellow-traveller preſented him to Portelet.

This knight, "gracious, amiable, and eaſy of "acceſs," related to him, during the ſix days they paſſed together, every thing which had been done in Portugal and Spain, from the death of king Ferdinand until his departure from Portugal. Froiſſart, equally pleaſed with the recitals of Portelet, and with his politeneſs, took leave of him, and returned home; where, having arranged all the information he had acquired in his various travels, he compoſed a new book, which makes the third of his hiſtory.

The paſſage whence theſe particulars are taken adds, that Froiſſart, on quitting Zealand, and before his return to his own country, went once more to Rome. Although, in this inſtance, the printed copies are conformable to the manuſcripts, this journey, of which no other mention is made, ſeems to me quite improbable. Denys Sauvage aſſures us, in a marginal note, that, inſtead of Rome, we ſhould read Bruges, Sluys, or Valenciennes: it is much more natural to read Damme, a port in the neighbourhood of Sluys, where as we have ſeen the hiſtorian embarked.

It is uncertain how long Froiſſart remained in Haynault; we only know that he was again in Paris in 1392, at the time when the conſtable de Cliſſon was aſſaſſinated by Peter de Craon; and at Abbeville towards the end of that ſame year, or the beginning of the next, during the conferences which were held there by the plenipotentiaries from France and England, when they at laſt eſtabliſhed a truce for four years.

From the year 1378, Froiſſart had obtained from the anti-pope Clement VII. the reverſion of a canonſhip at Lille. In the collection of his poetry, which was completed in 1393, and in a preface, which is to be met with ſeveral manuſcripts at the beginning of the fourth volume of his hiſtory, compoſed about this time, he ſtyles himſelf canon of Lille; but Clement VII. dying in 1394, he gave up his expectations of the reverſion, and began to ſtyle himſelf canon and treaſurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, which he probably owed to the friendſhip of the count de Blois, who reſpected him much; the lordſhip of Chimay being part of the inheritance which had fallen in to the count in 1381, by the death of John de Châtillon, count de Blois, the laſt of his brothers.

It was twenty-ſeven years ſince Froiſſart had left England; when, taking advantage of the truce between the French and Engliſh, he returned thither in 1395, furniſhed with letters of recommendation to the king, and his uncles. From Dover, where he diſembarked, he went to Canterbury,

bury, made his offering at the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket, and, from reſpect to the memory of the prince of Wales, to whom he was perfectly well known, he viſited his magnificent mauſoleum. He ſaw there the young King Richard, who had arrived to return thanks to God for the ſucceſs of his laſt campaign in Ireland: but, in ſpite of the good intentions of Sir Thomas Percy, high ſteward of England, who had promiſed to procure him an audience of the king, he could not be preſented; and was obliged to follow this prince to the different places he viſited, until he came to Leeds-caſtle*.

This time was not loſt on our hiſtorian; the Engliſh were ſtill full of their expedition to Ireland; and he got them to tell him both their own exploits, and the marvellous things they had ſeen there. Being yet at Leeds-caſtle, he preſented to the duke of York his letters from the count d Hainault and the count d'Oſtrevant †. "Maſter John," ſaid the duke to him, "keep near to our perſon, "and to our people, who will ſhew you all love "and kindneſs; we are bounden ſo to do, from "affection to former times, and to our lady mother, "to whom you were attached; we well remember "thoſe times." He afterwards introduced him into the King's chamber, who received him with very diſtinguiſhed marks of good-will. Richard took the letters he had been charged with; and,

* In Kent.

† Afterwards earl of Holland, and knight of the Garter.

having

having read them, ſaid, "that ſince he had been of "the houſehold of his grandfather and of the "queen his grandmother, he muſt be ſtill of the "houſehold of England."

Froiſſart, however, had not yet been able to preſent to the king the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him; and Percy adviſed him to wait a more favourable opportunity. Two important objects occupied the mind of Richard; one was his intended marriage with Iſabella of France; the other, the oppoſition of the people of Acquitaine to the donation which he had made of that province to his uncle, the duke of Lancaſter. The prelates and barons had been ſummoned to Eltham, to deliberate on theſe two affairs; and Froiſſart had followed the court. He wrote down regularly all he heard in his converſations with the different Engliſh lords; and Richard Sturry, who was of the King's cabinet council, entruſted him, in confidence, with every reſolution they had determined upon, begging him only to keep them ſecret until they ſhould be publicly divulged.

At laſt, on the Sunday which followed the holding of this council, the duke of York, ſir Richard Sturry, and ſir Thomas Percy, finding the king but little occupied, mentioned the romance which Froiſſart had brought with him. The prince aſked to ſee it; and the hiſtorian ſays, "he ſaw it in his "chamber; for, I had it always with me, and "placed it upon his bed. He then opened and "looked into it, and was greatly pleaſed: indeed, "he ought to have been pleaſed; for it was illu-

"minated,

" minated, and the writing much ornamented: it was " beſides, bound in crimſon velvet, with ten ſilver-" gilt nails, and a golden roſe, in the midſt of two " claſps gilt, richly chaſed with gold roſes. Then," continues Froiſſart, " the king enquired what ſub-" ject it treated of; and I told him, of love. He " was delighted with this anſwer, and looked into " different parts of the book, and read therein; for, " he read and ſpoke French perfectly well. He " then ordered one of his knights, named ſir " Richard Credon, to carry it to his cabinet; and " he ſeemed much obliged to me for it."

Henry Caſtede, an Engliſh eſquire, who had been preſent at this converſation, and who knew beſides that Froiſſart was writing his hiſtory, coming up to him, enquired if he had been informed of the details of the conqueſt, which the king had juſt made in Ireland. Froiſſart pretended to be ignorant of them, in order to engage the eſquire in converſation, who took pleaſure in recounting them to him.

Every thing the hiſtorian heard, among the reſt, the repaſt which the king of England gave in Ireland to the four kings, after having conquered them, excited in him very great regret, for not having come to England a year ſooner, as he was preparing to do, when the news of the death of queen Anne of Luxembourg, Richard's firſt wife, made him alter his intentions: he would not have failed to have gone to Ireland, to have ſeen every thing himſelf; for, he was much intereſted in collecting the minuteſt circumſtances of this expedition, in order

order to entertain "his lords" the duke of Bavaria and his ſon, who had on Frizeland ſimilar pretenſions to thoſe of the king of England on Ireland.

After three months reſidence in England, Froiſſart took his leave of the king. This prince, whom he had followed in his different excurſions near London, ordered one hundred nobles * to be given him, as a laſt mark of his affection, in a goblet † of ſilver, gilt, weighing two marcs.

The melancholy end of Richard, which happened in 1399, is related at the end of the fourth volume of Froiſſart's hiſtory, who acquits himſelf moſt gratefully to this Prince by the affecting manner in which he laments his misfortunes. At the ſame time he remarks, that in this event he ſaw the accompliſhment of a prediction which had been made reſpecting Richard, when he was born at Bordeaux; and alſo of a prophecy in the romance of Brutus ‡, which pointed out the prince who would dethrone him.

The death of Guy count de Blois happened ſoon after Froiſſart's return home: he mentions it in his Chronicle, under the year 1397. He was then ſixty years of age, and muſt have lived at leaſt four years more; for, he relates ſome events of the year

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* This ſum may amount to about twenty-five guineas of our preſent coin. ST. PALAYE.

† This was called by our anceſtors a henepée, id eſt, hanap, full of money: whence comes the Hanaper office in the Engliſh Treaſury. ST. PALAYE.

‡ See particulars of Wace, author of the romance of Brutus, in Mr. Ellis's Specimens of early Engliſh Poets.

1400. If we believe Bodin and La Popliniere, he lived to 1420; but theſe two writers have probably been deceived by the words, which begin the laſt chapter of his hiſtory: "En l'an de grace mil "quatre cent ung moins;" inſtead of reading, "ung," as it is written in ſeveral manuſcripts and in the black letter editions, they muſt have read "vingt."

Another paſſage in Froiſſart may alſo have given riſe to a belief that he lived to about the middle of the fifteenth century. In ſpeaking of the baniſhment of the count de Harcourt, who perſuaded the Engliſh to make a deſcent in Normandy, he ſays, that the melancholy effects of this invaſion were viſible for more than a hundred years after. Theſe terms muſt not be taken literally; the author wrote rather as foreſeeing thoſe evils to come which he dreaded, than as being a witneſs of their fatal effects.

It is not, however, poſſible to decide in what year he died; it only appears that it was in the month of October, ſince his death is announced in that month in the obituary of the collegiate church of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, from which I have added an extract at the end of this memoir. According to an old tradition of the country, he was interred in the chapel of St. Anne, in this collegiate church; and, indeed, it ſeems very probable that he ſhould end his days in his own chapter.

The name of Froiſſart was common to ſeveral perſons who lived at the ſame time with our hiſtorian; beſides Froiſſart Meullier, the young eſquire from Hainault, whom I mentioned in the beginning

of

of this memoir, we find in the Chronicle of our author, a Dom Froiſſart, who had ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege which the count de Hainault had formed in 1340 againſt the town of St. Amand. This monk defended for a conſiderable time a breach which had been made in the walls of the abbey, and did not abandon it before he had killed or wounded eighteen men. At the end of ſome charters of the count de Foix, there is a ſignature of J. Froiſſart, or Jaquinot Froiſſart: he was a ſecretary to the count, and, perhaps, a relation of the Hiſtorian. There is alſo mention made, in the regiſters of the "Treſor des Chartes," of a remiſſion granted in 1375 to Philebert Froiſſart, eſquire, who had been in the company of Gaſcons in the country of Guyenne, under the command of Charles d'Artois, count de Pezenas.

To avoid interrupting the thread of the narrative, I have deferred, to the end of this Memoir, the examination of a paſſage in the poetry of Froiſſart, which points out, but in obſcure terms, one of the principal circumſtances of his life. He recals the faults of his youth, and particularly reproaches himſelf for having quitted a learned profeſſion for which he had natural talents, and which had gained him much reſpect (he ſeems to point at hiſtory, or poetry), to follow another, which, though much more lucrative, was as little ſuited to him as that of arms; and having failed in it, had made him fall from that degree of honour to which the firſt had elevated him. He ſays, he is determined to repair his fault, and, returning to his former occupations, tranſmit

tranſmit to poſterity the glorious names of thoſe kings, princes, and lords, of whoſe generoſity he had partaken.

In the whole courſe of the life of Froiſſart, I ſee no period to which this alledged change can be aſcribed, or which points out this lucrative trade, called by himſelf "*marchandiſe.*" The indecency of the expreſſion will not ſuffer us to ſuppoſe it could be his cure of Leſtines; although he has ſaid, in another part, that the rectory was of conſiderable value: could it be the profeſſion of a lawyer, or that of his father, who was, as we have before ſtated, a painter of arms? A ſingular meaning of the word "marchandiſe," in Commines, may perhaps give us a plauſible explanation.

Commines, born in the ſame country, and not very far from the time of Froiſſart, employs this word to ſignify a negociation of affairs between princes. The buſineſs of a negociator, or rather a man of intrigue, who ſeeks, without any apparent character, to penetrate the ſecrets of courts, would perhaps be that, which Froiſſart repents having followed. The details into which we have entered reſpecting his various travels, the long reſidence which he has often made, in critical times, with ſeveral princes, and the talent which he poſſeſſed of inſinuating himſelf into their good graces, ſeem to me to warrant this conjecture.

Extract

Extract from a manuſcript taken from the archives of the chapter of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, in which are found the obituaries and pious foundations belonging to this chapter, and other antiquities. Folio 39 and 40.

" The obituary of ſir John Froiſſart, born at " Valenciennes, canon and treaſurer of the afore- " ſaid church, which flouriſhed in 1364, may have " place here, according, to his quality, as having " been domeſtick chaplain to the renowned Guy de " Châtillon, count de Soiſſons and de Blois, lord of " Aveſnes, Chimay, and Beaumont, &c. who has " alſo been a very celebrated hiſtorian of his time, " and has written the wars and chronicles of the " moſt remarkable events from the year 1335 until " the year 1400; according to his own declaration, " in divers parts of his hiſtory, and more eſpecially " in the 51ſt chapter of his 4th book; and as we " find it repreſented in the eulogium written in his " praiſe in the following words:

" Cognita Romanæ vix eſſet gloria gentis,
" Pluribus hunc ſcriptis nị decoraſſet honos.
" Tanti nempe refert totum ſcripſiſſe per orbem,
" Quælibet et doctos ſec'la tuliſſe viros.
" Commemorent alios alii, ſuper æthera tollam
" Froiſſardum, hiſtoriæ per ſua ſec'la ducem;
" Scripſit enim hiſtoriam mage ſexaginta per annos,
" Totius mundi, quæ memoranda notat,
" Scripſit & Anglorum Reginæ geſta Philippæ;
" Qui, Guilielme, tuo tutia juncta toro."

HONO-

HONORARIUM.

Gallorum ſublimis honos & fama tuorum,
Hic Froiſſarde, jaces, ſi modo forte jaces.
Hiſtoriæ vivus ſtuduiſti reddere vitam,
Defuncto vitam reddet at illa tibi.

JOANNES FROISSARDUS, Canonicus & Theſaurarius Eccleſiæ Collegiatæ Sanctæ Monegundis Simaci, vetuſtiſſimo ferme totius Belgii oppido.

Proxima dum propriis florebit Francia ſcriptis,
Fania * dum ramos, Blancaque † fundit aquas
Urbis ut hujus honos, templi ſic fama vigebis
Teque ducem hiſtoriæ Gallia tota colet,
Belgica tota colet, Cymeaque vallis amabit
Dum rapidus proprios Scaldis obibit agros.

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* The Faigne de Chimay, a ſmall foreſt dependant on it.
† La Blanche Eau, a river which runs by Chimay.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

WORKS OF FROISSART.

THE life of Froiſſart has been the ſubject of the preceding pages. I will now give the hiſtory of his works, as well printed as manuſcript, in verſe and in proſe; and I will, as faithfully as I am able, detail their contents. It may, perhaps, be thought I have been too minute; but I feel myſelf to owe a particular attention to an hiſtorian who alone is worth more than a multitude of others, by the importance of the ſubjects he inveſtigates, and the long period of time his hiſtory contains. I have beſides obſerved that the author has unfolded in the courſe of his work, many facts which ſerve to clear up many preceding ones: and for want of this information, it has often happened that I have been ſtopped in my reading, and have not profited ſo much by it, as I otherwiſe ſhould have done. It is this which has made me ſenſible of the want thoſe who read Froiſſart would experience of ſuch an explanation. To

ſmooth all difficulties, and to lay down ſuch rules as may ſerve for guides to readers, I have attempted to do that, which I ſhould have been glad to have found done, when I began to read this author: for, I do not ſimply propoſe to give an idea of our hiſtorian, ſuch as to ſatisfy curioſity alone; my object is, that theſe memoirs ſhould ſerve as an introduction to thoſe who may be induced to read him; and that they ſhould render him, as much as circumſtances will admit, more eaſy, more intereſting, and more inſtructive.

I. *General Plan of his Hiſtory.*

THE hiſtory which Froiſſart has left us extends from 1326 to 1400. It is not confined to the events which were paſſing in France during this long period, but comprehends, with almoſt as much detail, every conſiderable affair which happened in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders. It includes alſo a number of particulars relative to the affairs of the popes of Rome and of Avignon; of Spain, Germany, Italy; ſometimes even of Pruſſia, Hungary, Turkey, Africa, and other countries, in ſhort, of almoſt the whole known world. But this immenſe multitude of facts, ſo different from each other, the chronological order of which is not very clearly made out, frequently preſents to the reader only a confuſed mixture of events taking place at different times, and in different places, of which he cannot form any diſtinct idea, nor can his memory unite ſo many ſcattered objects, which have a neceſſary connection among each other.

There

There will be found, at the end of this Eſſay, an abridgement of the principal facts related in the courſe of the hiſtory *; and, in order to remedy, at leaſt in part, the diſorder which prevails in placing theſe events, I will diſpoſe of each in the claſs to which it belongs, as well as point out the chapters which it will be proper to read, to follow the train of cauſes of a ſimilar nature, as well as the hiſtory of the ſame country, or the ſame nation. It will be impoſſible for me to go into a very minute detail. To leave nothing to be wiſhed for, it would be right to make references to every article, of all the preceding paſſages relative to it, and of all thoſe which follow; but this can only be executed as notes to the original itſelf, and would require all the attention of an editor who ſhould intereſt himſelf for the advantage of his readers.

II. *A more detailed Plan of Froiſſart's Hiſtory.*

THE hiſtory of Froiſſart is divided into four books or volumes, as well in the manuſcripts, as in all the printed editions.

The firſt begins with the coronation of Edward III. king of England, in 1326, and with the acceſſion of Philip de Valois to the crown of France in 1328; and cloſes with the year 1379 inclusively.

Froiſſart begins his ſecond volume with the three laſt years of the preceding volume, and with more

* Neither this, nor his Poems, are continued in the Memoirs de l'Academie, by M. de St. Palaye; but a criticiſm on his poetry will be added from an anonymous author in the Memoirs de l'Academie, vol. xiv.

detail, having gained fuller information than when he firſt wrote it. He continues it until the peace of Ghent with the duke of Burgundy, the treaty for which is in the laſt chapter but one of this volume, dated the 18th December, 1385.

The third volume goes back as far as the year 1382 incluſively, reciting ſeveral events, which had been mentioned in the ſecond from the 93d chapter to the end. The events of theſe four laſt years, which had been already related, are ſo much expanded in the third volume, that they occupy the 29 firſt chapters. The reſt is employed in the hiſtory of the following years to 1389, ending with the truce concluded for three years between France and England, and with the preparations which were making for the entry of queen Iſabella of Bavaria into Paris, of which the author promiſes to ſpeak more at large.

The fourth volume begins with a recital of all the feaſts and pageantries appointed for this entry, and ends with the dethroning and death of Richard II. king of England, in 1400, and with the election the ſame year of Robert, emperor of Germany. Theſe events terminate the two laſt chapters of the whole work.

This manner of dividing the hiſtory of Froiſſart is the ſame in all the manuſcripts and printed copies; but theſe diviſions do not begin or end at the ſame place in all the copies. I will give an account of theſe variations, which, in truth, are not very conſiderable, when I treat of the different printed

printed copies and manuſcripts of Froiſſart that have paſſed through my hands.

III. *Diviſion of the Four Volumes of Froiſſart into Chapters, and of the firſt Volume into ſeveral Parts.*

THE four volumes of the hiſtory of Froiſſart are ſubdivided into a great number of chapters, which are differently placed, according to different manuſcripts and printed copies; but, beſide theſe diviſions, in a great many manuſcripts there is one which is particular to the firſt volume. Some have four books, or parts, others ſix, and ſome eight. I will ſpeak more fully of this matter when I come to mention the manuſcripts of Froiſſart.

It is in one of theſe four, ſix, or eight diviſions of the firſt volume, that we muſt ſeek for the termination of that part of his hiſtory which Froiſſart carried to England, and preſented to queen Philippa of Hainault. It neceſſarily precedes theſe books, or parts, in which the death of this queen in 1369, is related; it even precedes, if I do not miſtake, every thing prior to 1367, when he was appointed clerk of the cloſet to the queen of England; for, I believe, it was the hiſtory which he preſented to her that made him known, and gained him the office he held in the houſehold of that princeſs.

I doubt not but that it was poſterior to the recital of the battle of Poitiers in 1356, ſince it was at that epoch he began to write. We muſt not ſeek for it either before or after the years 1357, 1358, 1359,

or 1360; I would rather fix on the year 1360: for in that year the treaty of Bretigny was concluded, which gave peace to France and England. This period agrees with the time our author appears to have gone to England: the circumſtance of the peace naturally interrupted the progreſs of a hiſtory which had apparently no other object than to treat of deeds of arms.

The ſecond and third volumes are terminated at ſimilar periods; one at the peace between the duke of Burgundy with Ghent in 1385; and the other between the French and Engliſh in 1387.

Froiſſart diſcontinued writing in 1392; and during the following years which were paſſed in a ſucceſſion of truces between France and England, he took advantage of going to England, where he had not been for twenty-ſeven years.

IV. *Did Froiſſart make theſe Diviſions?*

IT may be aſked if Froiſſart himſelf divided his hiſtory in the manner we have related? I do not doubt but he was the author of the diviſion into four volumes; for, beſides that this diviſion is obſerved in all the manuſcripts, even thoſe of his own time, he occaſionally cites facts in ſome of theſe volumes which had been related in a former, and makes uſe of the following expreſſions, "as it is mentioned "in another hiſtory;" or, "as you have before "heard related in the preceding book of this re-"nowned excellent hiſtory."

But as for the ſub-diviſions of the firſt volume into four, ſix, or eight books, they are not to be found

found in the moſt ancient manuſcripts; beſides, they are not uniformly the ſame in thoſe wherein they occur; I therefore do not heſitate to attribute them to the copyiſts, who have taken this licence on themſelves.

With regard to the chapters of each volume, and the titles of theſe chapters, they are only to be met with in the printed copies; in the manuſcripts of that time, and ſubſequent to it, they are different, according to the various manuſcripts or printed copies; and I ſee no probability that Froiſſart was the author of them. One ſingle paſſage may create a difficulty on this ſubject. It is in the firſt volume, on an occaſion where the hiſtorian refers you to the preceding chapter; but this paſſage is evidently an interpolation. Notwithſtanding it is in the three black letter editions, and in thoſe of Denys Sauvage, it is not to be found in any of the manuſcripts which I have ſeen, with the exception of a ſingle one in the national library, number 8321, which is of the date of the latter end of the fifteenth century, and one of the leaſt authentic copies we have.

V. *The Time which Froiſſart employed in the Compoſition of his Hiſtory.*

THE principal of theſe diviſions, that which divides the hiſtory of Froiſſart into four volumes, ſerves to mark as many different epochs, at which he ſtopped in the courſe of his work; whether from want of materials, having carried his narration to the time of

of his writing; or whether he wiſhed to take ſome repoſe himſelf, and allow the ſame to his readers: but theſe are not the only places where Froiſſart has ſuſpended the courſe of his hiſtory; many have been pointed out, and I will endeavour to fix a date to them, as well as to others, as far as my abilities and information extend.

Before entering on this examination, I ſhall explain the manner in which I underſtand Froiſſart diſcontinued to write his hiſtory. From all I have ſaid of his habits, he is ſeen continually occupied with this object: more than forty years of his life, reckoning from the time he was twenty, were paſſed in this purſuit: but in ſuch a long period, there is one part of it which more directly belongs to the compoſition of this work; I mean that, when, returning from his travels and laborious inquiries, he collected his materials, arranged them, and formed a connected hiſtory, ſuch as we have it at this day. As he wrote it at different periods, I ſhall attempt to aſſign to each part its ſuitable time; to fix when it was begun and finiſhed; how many years he employed upon it, and the intervals during which he ceaſed to write: I think all theſe details neceſſary. Froiſſart travelled over large tracts of country, and made a long reſidence in ſeveral places; he was attached, at different times, to courts whoſe intereſts were in oppoſition; he lived with a great number of princes and lords of contrary parties. It would have been difficult not to have been biaſſed by prejudices, and not to have been influenced by affection for ſome, and hatred to others; it was unlikely that

he ſhould always have ſteered clear of the illuſions of partiality; for his candour alone would have ſerved to render him more ſuſceptible of them. If the circumſtances be recollected of our hiſtorian's life, which have been related in the preceding pages, and are connected with thoſe times in which he laboured at the compoſition of different parts of his hiſtory, not only the nature of the information he might be in a ſituation to gather will be manifeſt, as well relative to places, as to the perſons he had ſeen; but thoſe perſons to whom he may be ſuppoſed to have leaned, will be pointed out. Theſe grounds being once eſtabliſhed, will be of very great aſſiſtance in enabling us to appreciate more juſtly the different degrees of credit he may deſerve, as an authority, according to the various matters he treats of, and the times in which he ſpeaks of them. Without its being neceſſary for me to explain myſelf more at length on this ſubject every reader may apply this rule as he ſhall advance in the reading of Froiſſart: it will ſerve him as a guide at every ſtep he takes; it will guard him from error or ſeduction; whether the hiſtorian ſhould have been ill-informed, or ſhould have wiſhed to impoſe on his readers, ſuppoſing it true that he were capable of ſo doing.

The firſt volume of Froiſſart comprehends, as I have ſaid before, the hiſtory from 1326, to 1379. This period includes the time of his journey to England; we may readily ſuppoſe he had diſcontinued the work, for, he conſidered it then as finiſhed to that part, ſince, he ſays, he carried it to England, where he preſented it to the queen. It ends, as I have

have already ſaid, about the year 1360; and we have ſeen that it was completed in 1361, and that he had only begun it about the year 1357, it is therefore evident that Froiſſart ſcarcely employed more than three or four years in the compoſition of this part of his work; which nevertheleſs appears to me one of thoſe with which he has taken the moſt pains.

A ſort of connection, which I find between ſeveral chapters of the remainder of this firſt volume, of which the firſt announces others at a great diſtance, convinces me that this remainder has been compoſed off hand, and without interruption; and that, conſequently, the author only began to write it towards the year 1379, ſince he cloſes it with the account of the events of this year. In truth, I believe that, during the time he paſſed in the ſervice of queen Philippa from 1361 to 1369, he was more occupied in writing, by her orders, poems on gallantry and love, than in labouring at his hiſtory; and that, although in his different travels, ſeveral of which were after the death of this princeſs, he were anxious to gain every information of the hiſtory of his own time, he had not, in the midſt of an agitated life, either ſufficient leiſure, or a mind enough diſengaged from the anxieties or pleaſures of the world, to write it. He employed three or four years in compoſing the laſt half of his firſt volume; for we ſhall ſee, that the following volume, which he did not immediately begin upon, was written from 1385 to 1388.

Not-

Notwithſtanding Froiſſart may have written the firſt volume at two different times, it ſeems that the preface, which is at the beginning, was not done until the whole was finiſhed; for the author ſpeaks in it of his travels into Scotland, whither he did not go until after he had preſented the firſt half of this volume to the queen of England.

No material interruption is met with in the courſe of the ſecond volume. The author employs the twenty-ſeven firſt chapters in recapitulating the events of the three laſt years of the preceding volume, which had been too ſuccinctly related. He adds new facts, or new circumſtances, to thoſe he had before told, or rectifies the narration, from having been better informed afterwards; and it is from this I draw my proof, that there was ſome interval between the compoſition of the firſt volume, and the other which followed.

After theſe twenty-ſeven firſt chapters he reſumes the thread of his hiſtory, which he follows until the peace the men of Ghent obtained from the duke of Burgundy, and of which he reports the original treaty, dated the 18th December, 1385.

It is towards the year 1385 or 1386, that Froiſſart began to write his ſecond volume: it was finiſhed in 1388. This ſame year he viſited the count de Foix; and in the account he gives of his travels he ſays, that different perſons reminded him of events which he had related in his Hiſtory; and theſe events are told in the ſecond volume, which,

which, according to all appearances, was immediately written.

There is an interval of upwards of twelve years between the compoſition of this volume and the enſuing one; for, the author only began the third in 1390. He then wrote it by command, and at the expence, of the count de Blois: this he expreſsly ſays in the beginning of the 97th chapter. There is nothing to prevent us from believing that the preceding volume had been compoſed by the orders of the ſame nobleman, ſince I have ſhewn in the Memoirs of his life, that Froiſſart appeared to have been attached to his ſervice from the year 1385.

The third volume, which returns to thoſe events that had happened ſince the year 1382, and which gives a fuller account of them, had been, as I have juſt ſaid, begun upon in 1390, and was already finiſhed in 1392. The author makes this to be underſtood in that part where he ſpeaks of the conventions entered into by the duke of Britanny with the king of France. He ſays, that at the time he was finiſhing this book, the duke had faithfully obſerved them, and had not done any thing worthy of being noticed. We ſhall hereafter witneſs the diſobedience of this duke in 1392; who, having received Peter de Craon at his palace, at the time when he was a ſtate criminal, refuſed to obey the orders Charles VI. ſent him to give him up. This whole volume ſeems to me to have been compoſed without interruption; at leaſt, there is a material connection

nection between ſeveral chapters at a great diſtance from each other.

The interval there is between the third and fourth volumes, ſeems to have been cauſed more to give repoſe to the reader, than to the hiſtorian; for Froiſſart, in ending the third, announces the events which are to be the materials of the fourth volume. I believe, the hiſtorian, immediately on completing the third, wrote the fifty firſt chapters of the fourth volume, which cloſe with the events of 1392.

A great number of manuſcripts, and black-letter editions, which begin the fourth volume after theſe fifty chapters, form a very natural prejudice in favour of this opinion: beſides, from the year 1392, when they end, two years paſſed in continual negociations between the French and Engliſh; during which, ſeveral truces, but of ſhort duration, were made; they, however, ended at laſt in a peace, or truce, for four years. I do not doubt but that Froiſſart then interrupted his writing; ſince that was the time when he performed his journey into England, where he reſided three months. I believe, this interval was conſiderable, becauſe the remainder of the fourth volume, which ſeems to me to have been written without intermiſſion, was compoſed, if I miſtake not, ſeveral years after this journey; that is to ſay, towards the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century. We find in it thoſe events which belong to the years 1399 and 1400, but nothing that may lead us to form any judgment how long a time the author employed on this laſt part.

It is neceſſary to make one general obſervation on the ſubject of theſe intervals, which I have juſt been ſpeaking of, and of which I have attempted to determine the length. When our Hiſtorian finiſhed one of the parts of the hiſtory, he brought it down to the time of his writing; and towards the end he related the events as they were paſſing: whence it happens, as it ſeems to me, that there is much confuſion, and not unfrequently omiſſions and miſtakes, which he has been obliged to correct, or alter, in the following parts. It is probably theſe different ſupplements which have made him take in many places the title not only of "Actor," that is to ſay, Author, but in addition to it, that of Augmentator, of this hiſtory; and made him ſay, in other parts of it, "to have undertaken, continued, and augmented.

VI. *The Inquiries Froiſſart made to compoſe his Hiſtory, and the Pains he took on this Subject.*

IT has been ſhewn with how much pain and fatigue Froiſſart had viſited ſeveral of the courts in Europe. Admitted within the palaces of the great lords, he inſinuated himſelf into their confidence to ſuch a degree, that they not only related to him many particulars of their own lives, and of thoſe events which they had a ſhare in, or had been eye-witneſſes of; but they diſcovered to him ſometimes the ſecret motives of the reſolutions which had been entered into in the councils of the cabinet, upon the moſt important affairs: and he never failed to take advantage of his converſations with thoſe whoſe intimacy he boaſted, and whom he could interrogate with greater freedom.

It ſeems that he derived the knowledge of many details relating to tranſactions in the court of France from the ſervants even of the king himſelf, and from thoſe who were near his perſon.

If, when at courts, or in the other places he viſited, he met with any from whom he thought he could gain information, more eſpecially captains, or heralds, who in thoſe times were the moſt uſual agents in negociations, and in affairs of importance; he began a converſation with them, and inſenſibly led them to ſpeak of thoſe parts of hiſtory of which they ought to be beſt informed, whether in regard to the country where they were, or to other circumſtances of their lives; and he never quitted them until he had induced them to tell all they knew; the whole of which he immediately ſet down in writing.

Not content with collecting all theſe valuable authorities, and comparing very carefully, as he himſelf informs us, the intelligence of perſons who had been attached to different parties, he ſought for proofs ſtill leſs liable to ſuſpicion. He conſulted the treaties which princes had entered into with each other, their challenges, or declarations of war, the letters they wrote, and other papers of this nature. He expreſsly ſays, that he had ſeen many which he does not mention; particularly thoſe of the chancery of the king of England; ſome of them are tranſcribed entire in the courſe of his Hiſtory. It appears that he did not inſert every thing he found as chance offered, but that he examined the articles critically, and laid aſide all thoſe whoſe authenticity did not ſeem to him fully proved.

VII. *What End Froiſſart propoſed to himſelf in writing his Hiſtory; and what Rules he laid down to himſelf in its compoſition.*

IT may eaſily be judged, from the detail of the pains which Froiſſart himſelf tells us he took, that he was acquainted with the rules of ſound criticiſm, and the true method which ought to be followed in writing hiſtory. He likewiſe informs us, that he had no intention of making a dry Chronicle, wherein facts are ſimply related with their dates, and in the order of their occurrence, but that he was anxious to write what may be called in truth hiſtory, in which the events are preſented with all the circumſtances attendant on them. The details which lay open the ſecret ſprings by which mankind act, are preciſely thoſe which unveil the character and the very heart of the perſonages which hiſtory places on the ſtage; and this was one of the eſſential parts of the deſign which Froiſſart had propoſed to himſelf in writing this hiſtorical work.

Many paſſages throughout the following pages indicate that he had a natural inclination for it, and that he found infinite pleaſure in writing it; but another object, which does him much more honour, greatly ſtrengthened this natural taſte: he propoſed to preſerve, for future ages, the memory of thoſe men who had made themſelves renowned by their courage, or by their virtues; to give to their actions a value, which nothing can efface, nor alter; and, by amuſing uſefully his readers, to give birth to, or augment in their hearts, the love of glory, by the moſt brilliant examples.

This

This deſire, which always animated him in his various inquiries, ſupported him during forty years of labour, in which he neither ſpared attention nor time, and for which he feared not expending very conſiderable ſums of money. In reality, nothing can be more proper than the ſpectacle which Froiſſart places continually before the eyes of his readers, to inſpire them with a love for war; that induſtrious vigilance, always on its guard againſt ſurprizes, inceſſantly active to ſurprize others; that activity, which counts as nothing pains and fatigue; that contempt of death, which elevates the mind above the fear of danger; in ſhort, that noble ambition which excites to enterprizes of the greateſt peril.

He paſſes in review all the heroes who, during almoſt a whole century, were produced by two warlike nations; one of which was encouraged by ſucceſſes as flattering as they were uninterrupted; and the other, irritated by its misfortunes, was making exertions to revenge, at any price, its own honour and that of its king. In ſo great a number of actions, of which many were eminently glorious to each party, it was not poſſible but that ſome were to be found of a quite different ſort. Froiſſart does not take leſs pains to paint theſe laſt, in order to raiſe as much horror at vice, as he wiſhed to inſpire love for virtue; but, if all theſe pictures had been the fruits of his own imagination, they would not have been felt as much as he wiſhed them. In order that their impreſſion on the heart and mind ſhould be perfectly ſure, and ſtrong, it was neceſſary that their baſis ſhould be founded on

the pureſt truth, diſengaged from all flattery, partiality, or intereſt.

It is this truth which our hiſtorian piques himſelf on having ſought after with the greateſt care. However, all I have juſt ſaid is taken from his own words, in a number of paſſages in his hiſtory; and it is on this alone that I depend. It remains to be ſeen if he has as faithfully obſerved this law which he impoſes on himſelf, as he has promiſed. But before I enter into an examination of this queſtion, I ſhall make ſome general obſervations on his chronology: I ſhall then ſpeak of the firſt thirty years of his hiſtory, which are, properly ſpeaking, but an introduction to the forty, and ſome years which follow them, to the end of the fourteenth century.

VIII. *The Chronology of Froiſſart.*

I OBSERVE in the chronology of Froiſſart two material defects, which are the ſource of all the diſorder found in it. The firſt, that when he paſſes from the hiſtory of one country to that of another, he makes the hiſtory which he begins go back to a period anterior to what he has juſt ſpoken of, without having taken the precaution to inform his readers of it. The ſecond, which is not leſs conſiderable, is, that he has not ſettled in his own mind the manner of counting the years; he makes them ſometimes begin the 1ſt of January, at other times at Eaſter; and ſometimes even at Palm Sunday.

Froiſſart does not confine himſelf to date by years the events he relates: months, days, hours of

the day, are often expreſſed in his different recitals. I remark, with regard to the days, that he only begins them when night is completely gone, and day-break begins to appear. With regard to the hours of the day, he makes a diviſion of which ſome examples, but in a ſmall number, are ſeen in our antient authors, and to which he very particularly attaches himſelf. He divides them according to the canonical hours of *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, and *vêpres*; becauſe, perhaps, he was in the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion himſelf. I obſerve, that he has not any where made uſe of the word *ſexte*: what he means by *prime*, was the morning, the firſt hour of the day, or the hour which followed next after day break. *Tierce* ſeems to me, to mark the intermediate time between the morning and mid-day, which he expreſſes either by the word mid-day, or by that of *none*. Afterwards comes *vêpre*, or *la vêprée*: it was, as the word points out, the end of the day; after which was reckoned mid-night. Sometimes he adds to theſe words, *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, *vêpres*, the epithet of *baſſe*, to mark that the time of theſe hours was near cloſing; and ſometimes the word *haute*, which, in ſome inſtances, appears to have the ſame ſignification, and in others quite the contrary. He uſes this mode of ſpeech *à l'aube crevant*, to ſay, that the dawn of day has but juſt begun to ſhew itſelf; *au ſoleil reſconſant*, to expreſs the ſetting ſun; *à la relevée*, for the time which follows the hour of mid-day; and *à la remontée*, which ſeems to me ſynonymous to *la vêprée*, for the evening, the time at which the day approaches to its end.

IX. *Of the firſt Thirty Years which Froiſſart has treated of at the Beginning of his Hiſtory, after John le Bel; that is to ſay, from* 1326 *to* 1356.

THE firſt thirty years of the hiſtory of Froiſſart are properly but a preliminary, ſerving to give the reader ſome information relative to the wars of which he was afterwards to render an account. He deſcribes the ſtate of France and of England; and ſhews the cauſe of the quarrel between the two crowns, which was the origin of thoſe bloody wars they carried on againſt each other. Froiſſart cannot be reckoned a contemporary writer of theſe firſt thirty years; he was not born, or if he were, he was in his infancy, or of ſuch an age that he could not make any great uſe of his reaſon. He therefore ſcarcely ever mentions theſe thirty years, as an author who has ſeen what he relates; and, without doubt, it muſt be to this period alone that can be referred what he ſays in the commencement of his hiſtory, that he wrote after another who had lived before: it is, as he tells us, "the true Chronicle of "John le Bel, Canon of St. Lambert, of Liege." Theſe Chronicles have not been handed down to us; and I cannot diſcover any thing more, either concerning the work, or its author, but what Froiſſart tells us. He ſpeaks of him as of one who no longer exiſted; but he boaſts his exactneſs, and the pains he took in comparing his Chronicles, and the conſiderable expences he was at on this ſubject. He repreſents him as the favourite and confidant of John of Hainault, in company with whom he might have witneſſed ſeveral great events, which

ſay

ſays he, ſhall in the end be related; for the earl, who was nearly related to ſeveral kings, had acted a principal part in many of theſe tranſactions.

Froiſſart, in theſe thirty years, which are anterior to the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, enters more into the detail of the hiſtory of the Engliſh than of the French, perhaps from having followed, in this reſpect, his original author, who had taken a much greater intereſt in the hiſtory of England, from its connexions with the count de Hainault. This certainly is the cauſe why thoſe manuſcripts, which only contain the firſt years of the Chronicle of Froiſſart, are called Chronicles of England; it alſo has given riſe to the reproach which has been made againſt him of being the partizan of England, and diſaffected towards France; an accuſation which I ſhall examine at the end of this criticiſm.

I do not think Froiſſart could have choſen a better guide for the hiſtory of the thirty years, than the author he ſays he followed. To judge of the information which this hiſtorian might have drawn from his intimacy with John of Hainault, we muſt recollect the ſituation of this earl at the time in queſtion. The queen of England, Iſabella of France, had fled from England with the young prince of Wales, her ſon, afterwards Edward III. to free herſelf from the perſecutions of the Spenſers, and the other favourites of her huſband, Edward II.

Charles le Bel, king of France, brother to this queen, was forced to order her to quit his kingdom, after he had afforded her an aſylum for ſome time. The court of the count de Hainault, of

whom we are ſpeaking, was the only refuge for the mother and ſon: not only was this open to them, but they raiſed there powerful ſuccours to carry with them to England, and to draw down vengeance on their enemies.

The young prince there met with a virtuous and amiable princeſs (ſhe was one of the daughters of the count), who felt for him thoſe firſt ſentiments of a natural inclination, which ſeem to fotetell the moſt durable attachments: he conceived a ſtrong affection for her, made her his bride, and afterwards ſhe was placed with him on the throne of England. She is the perſon to whom Froiſſart preſented his Hiſtory.

Froiſſart wrote then after an author who was himſelf perſonally acquainted with all theſe facts, and from the perſons the beſt informed; for it was their own hiſtory. The writer, who appears to have been brought up at the court of the count de Hainault, was living in the greateſt familiarity with thoſe, in whoſe recollection all the circumſtances of this court, which were then recent, would be freſh, and the facts perfectly well known; and he wrote the hiſtory of it for queen Philippa, of Hainault, who had acted ſo principal a part. Never was there an hiſtorian who had more undeniable witneſſes of the truth of what he relates; never was there one, in whom greater confidence could be placed, than in Froiſſart in this part of his Hiſtory. You will, however, recollect the faults which M. Lancelot has corrected in ſeveral articles which concern the Hiſtory of England at this period. His criticiſm is

founded

founded on the original acts which he has had in his hands, and his authority is unqueſtionable. I urge this example, becauſe it ſeems to me more proper than any other, to make a truth, important to our Hiſtory, more ſtrongly felt, a truth which has been ſo much recommended by authors the moſt thoroughly converſant with this ſtudy: I mean, the abſolute neceſſity of accompanying the peruſal of hiſtory, with a compariſon of the original acts of the times.

Some of them throw light upon parts which are defective, while others add to the teſtimonies of hiſtory a degree of authenticity of which they have but too much need: and it is from this compariſon, that the certainty of theſe truths reſults as far as in their nature they are ſuſceptible of proof. I ſhall reſerve what I may have to ſay of thoſe forty years for another opportunity, ſince Froiſſart then wrote as a cotemporary hiſtorian, and as an eye-witneſs, I may ſay, of every thing which was then paſſing in the world. But I ſhall firſt examine the different judgments which have been paſſed on this hiſtorian, and particularly the almoſt univerſal reproach which has been made him, of being a violent partizan of the Engliſh, and a declared enemy to the French. I ſhall ſpeak of his partiality in other reſpects, his credulity in certain articles, his exactneſs in others, and his mode of writing: I will then enumerate the detail of the editions which we have of his Hiſtory, and diſcuſs the merits and faults of each of them; I ſhall, more eſpecially, examine whether

whether Sauvage has more corrupted and falſified the text, in his edition, than he has enlightened it.

In ſhort, I ſhall give a ſummary account of upwards of forty manuſcript volumes, in folio, of this Hiſtory, which I have collated with great attention.

A

CRITICISM

ON THE

HISTORY OF FROISSART.

I HAVE laid before you the views with which Froiſſart wrote his Chronicles, the care he took to be informed of all the events which were to make parts of them, and the rules he had impoſed on himſelf in writing them. I ſhall at preſent examine if he has been exact in obſerving theſe rules; what are the defects and advantages of his Hiſtory; what is the form and ſtyle of it. Thence I ſhall paſs to the manuſcripts and editions we have of it, and to the abridgements and different tranſlations which have been publiſhed.

Froiſſart is accuſed of partiality; and this accuſation is become ſo general, that it ſeems to have acquired the character of notoriety; whoſe privilege is to ſuperſede proofs. Froiſſart is ſaid to have ſold his pen to the Engliſh, who paid him a conſiderable penſion; and, by a neceſſary conſequence of his affection for them, he is unfavourable to the French.

Bodin,

Bodin, Paſquier, Brantôme, Sorel, la Popeliniere, le Laboureur, decide againſt him in the moſt poſitive terms. It ſeems even that his readers, prejudiced by the connexions which Froiſſart had with the Engliſh, may have ſome reaſon to diſtruſt every thing he relates to their advantage. In truth, he begins by ſaying, that he had written his hiſtory at the ſolicitations of Robert de Namur, a near relation of queen Philippa, and a vaſſal of the crown of England, which he ſerved as a partizan againſt France. In another part he informs us, that he was of the houſehold of Edward III. the moſt cruel enemy of the French; and that his queen, to whom he was ſecretary, had not only, by her liberality, enabled him to travel into various parts in order to enrich his Hiſtory, but that ſhe had generouſly paid him for his labours in it.

In ſhort, the firſt twenty-ſix chapters of his Chronicle ſolely concern the hiſtory of England, which has been the reaſon why it has been called the "Chronicle of England" in ſeveral manuſcripts. Thence it has been concluded, that Froiſſart, from his intimate attachment to the court of England, muſt be a violent partizan of that nation, and the enemy of its enemies. Nothing more was wanted to make accounts, the moſt innocent, as given by any other hiſtorian, to appear poiſonous from his pen: but in order to judge if this ſuſpicion has any foundation, I will run over the period of which he has tranſmitted to us the hiſtory, and examine ſucceſſively the different ſituations he occupied when

he

he wrote the various parts of it. Froiſſart cannot be ſuſpected of partiality during the firſt years of the reign of Edward III. This prince never forgot that his uncle, king Charles le Bel, had given him an aſylum in his kingdom; when, with his mother, Iſabella of France, he had eſcaped from the perſecutions of the Spencers, who governed the mind of his father, Edward II.

The court of France had not any miſunderſtanding with that of England during the reign of Charles. I paſs over for a moment the forty years which follow from 1329, when the ſucceſſion to the crown of France being opened by the death of Charles le Bel, the bonds which had united the kings of France and England, became themſelves the ſource of diviſions, and of the moſt murderous wars; and I come to the times which ſucceeded the death of queen Philippa in 1369, a period when Froiſſart, no longer reſiding in England, had attached himſelf to Winceſlaus, duke of Brabant. This prince, brother to the emperor Charles IV. was, in fact, uncle to Anne of Bohemia, who was afterwards queen of England, by her marriage with Richard II.; but he was alſo in the ſame degree of relationſhip to Charles V. of France, the ſon of his ſiſter, and preſerving a ſtrict neutrality between the two rival crowns, he was invited to the coronations of Charles V. and of Charles VI. He obtained even in the laſt of theſe ceremonies the pardon of the count de St. Pol, whom the king's council wiſhed to put to death for the crime of high treaſon.

Froiſ-

Froiſſart, who informs us of this circumſtance, with which he muſt have been well acquainted, tells us another, which clearly ſhews, that Winceſlaus ever preſerved the friendſhip of king Charles, as well as that of his council. During the time the war was carrying on with the greateſt obſtinacy, he obtained a paſſport for the princeſs Anne of Bohemia to go to England, where ſhe was to marry Richard II. Charles and his uncles accompanied this favour with the moſt obliging letters, adding that they only granted it out of friendſhip to him. Froiſſart had not any intereſt to write againſt France during the time he paſſed with this prince; he had, ſhortly afterwards, ſtill leſs, when he was ſecretary to the count de Blois, who crowned a life, completely devoted to the intereſts of France, with the ſacrifice of the intereſts of his own family. The moſt trifling marks of ill-will againſt France would have expoſed him to loſe, not only the good graces of his maſter, but the fruit of his hiſtorical labours, which he had induced him to continue, and which he ſo generouſly recompenſed. The Hiſtorian therefore, fearful of reproaches to which he might be liable for being too good a Frenchman, reproaches very different from thoſe which have been ſince made him, thinks himſelf bound to juſtify, in the following terms, what he relates of the inviolable attachment of the Bretons to the crown of France againſt the Engliſh, vol. iii. chapter LXIV. year 1387. "Let no one ſay I have been cor-
"rupted by the favours which the count Guy de
"Blois (who has made me write this Hiſtory) has
"ſhewn

" ſhewn unto me, and who has ſo liberally paid me
" for it that I am ſatisfied, becauſe he was nephew
" to the true duke of Britanny, and ſo nearly re-
" lated as ſon to count Louis de Blois, brother-
" german to Charles de Blois, who, as long as he
" lived, was duke of Britanny: no, by my troth, it
" is not ſo; for I will not ſpeak at all, unleſs it
" be the truth, and go ſtrait forward, without
" praiſing one more than another: beſides, the
" gallant prince and court, who have made me un-
" dertake this hiſtory, had no other wiſh than for
" me to ſay what is true."

Since Froiſſart, in all theſe times which carry us almoſt to the end of his Chronicle, cannot be ſuſpected of hatred to the French, nor of affection to the Engliſh; I return to thoſe years I have omitted from 1329 to 1369, of which he paſſed a conſiderable part in England, attached to the king and queen, and living in a ſort of familiarity with the young princes, their children; it is in reſpect to theſe years, that the ſuſpicion of partiality to the Engliſh may be ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt with the greateſt force. It was difficult, in a court where every thing breathed hatred to France, for him to preſerve that perfect neutrality which the quality of an hiſtorian demands; and not to lean towards the paſſions and intereſts of princes to whom he owed his preſent fortune, and from whom he expected more conſiderable eſtabliſhments.

Reaſons might be found to weaken this prejudice in the ſweet temper and moderation which queen Philippa ever preſerved in the midſt of all

theſe

theſe wars; ſhe who calmed the fury of her huſband at the ſiege of Calais, and who obtained, by her interceſſion, the pardon of the ſix generous citizens of that town, whom he had condemned to death. I might add, that if Froiſſart were of the houſehold of king Edward, he was alſo of the houſehold of king John; and it ſeems, he was attached to this prince even at the time when he was in England.

But, without ſeeking to combat theſe prejudices by others, I ſhall ſimply conſult the text of Froiſſart, which muſt, in this reſpect, be the rule for our judgment. After having read him with all the attention I am capable of, without having remarked one ſingle trace of the partiality they reproach him with, I have examined with the utmoſt care ſome principal points, where naturally it ought to have been the moſt apparent.

The acceſſion of Philip de Valois to the crown had incenſed all England, who adopted the chimerical pretenſions of Edward III. This was a delicate circumſtance for an hiſtorian; who living in the midſt of a court, and a nation ſo ſtrongly prejudiced, was determined not to quit the line of duty. Now, theſe are the terms in which Froiſſart relates this event, after having mentioned the deaths of the kings, Louis Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel: "The twelve peers and barons of France "did not give the realm of France to their ſiſter "who was queen of England, becauſe they de- "clared and maintained, and ſtill maintain, that "the kingdom of France is ſo noble, it ought not "to deſcend to a female, the queen of England, nor "con-

" conſequently to the king of England, her eldeſt
" ſon; for they reſolved that the ſon cannot claim
" any right of ſucceſſion as coming from his mo-
" ther, when the mother herſelf has not any right;
" ſo that, for theſe reaſons, the twelve peers and the
" barons of France unanimouſly decreed the king-
" dom of France to my lord Philip, nephew to the
" good king Philip of France, before-mentioned,
" and took from the queen of England and her ſon
" the right of ſucceeding to the laſt king, Charles.
" Thus, as it appeared to many perſons, did the
" kingdom of France go out of the ſtraight line of
" ſucceſſion, which occaſioned very great wars in
" conſequence, &c."

This whole paſſage preſents nothing but what muſt ſet the courage and candour of the hiſtorian in the moſt favourable light, ſhould he even have added theſe words, " it appeared to many perſons;" ſince it is not any matter of doubt that the ſucceſſion paſſed from the ſtraight line to the collateral branch.

Nevertheleſs, ſome malignant intention was thought to lurk beneath, and the words " took " from" having offended ſeveral readers, they have added in the margin a ſort of correction, which I have ſeen in two manuſcripts in a hand almoſt as antient as the manuſcripts themſelves: " They never could take away what they had never " been in poſſeſſion of, nor had any right to. " They never took it away; for, neither the " foreſaid lady, nor her ſon, had even a right to " it; but Froiſſart ſhows he was partial to the " Engliſh."

The homage which king Edward III. paid to the king of France, hurt exceedingly the delicacy of the Engliſh: they had diſputed for ſome time, and with great warmth, on the form in which it was to be done; ſeeking to curtail it of all that was humiliating to them. As the king of France firmly ſupported the prerogatives of his crown, he obliged Edward to acquit himſelf of this duty according to the form practiſed by his predeceſſors, an hiſtorian therefore deſirous of rendering his narration ſubſervient to purpoſes of flattery would ſlightly have paſſed over this article. Froiſſart, however, inſiſts upon it as much as he is able: he neither omits the difficulties which the Engliſh made, nor the authorities which king Philip oppoſed to them; and he accompanies theſe details with the original acts the moſt proper to confirm them; ſo that, if the kings of France ſhould ever have occaſion to verify their rights, the depoſition alone of Froiſſart would furniſh an authentic and inconteſtable title.

The Engliſh accuſe the French of not being very ſcrupulous in obſerving treaties; and maintain, that ſir Geoffry de Charni acted by the ſecret orders of the king of France, when, in contempt of a truce which had been made, he attempted to ſurprize Calais in 1349. Rapin embraces this opinion, and ſupports it by the teſtimony of Froiſſart, whom he quotes in the margin. I know not from what copy, or what manuſcript, he has taken his authority; but, for my part, I read in all the printed books and in all the manuſcripts theſe words, which are quite contrary to his ſentiments: "I believe, that

"Geoffry

"Geoffry de Charni had not ſpoken of it to the "king of France, for the king would never have ad- "viſed him to attempt it, on account of the truce."

The Engliſh again impute to Charles V. the infraction of the treaty of Bretigny, which they firſt broke, if we believe the French. Far from finding any thing in Froiſſart which favors the imputations of the Engliſh, I believe that, if the terms in which he expreſſes himſelf were ſtrictly examined, they would at leaſt form a preſumption againſt them. I do not deſpair but that one day a brother academician will give us all the proofs which a ſound criticiſm, and a mature reading of the hiſtorical monuments of that age, can furniſh on a point of hiſtory which is of equal conſequence to the nation and to truth.

The ſingular combat propoſed in 1354 between the kings of France and of England, is ſtill a matter of diſpute between the hiſtorians of the two nations. According to the French, the challenge ſent in the name of king John was not accepted by Edward; whilſt the Engliſh ſay, their king dared the king of France to battle, but that he refuſed the combat: Froiſſart decides formally for the French. "The "king of France," ſays he, "went after him as "far as St. Omer, and ſent a meſſage to him (the "king of England) by the marſhal d'Authain, and "by ſeveral other knights, that he would fight "with him, if he pleaſed, body to body, or army "againſt army, on any day that he would name: "but the king of England refuſed the combat, and "re-croſſed the ſea to England; and the king of "France returned to Paris."

To theſe examples, I could add a great number of others wherein he gives much praiſe, as well to the people, as to the lords who ſignalized themſelves by their attachment to their country, and he neither ſpares thoſe who had declared themſelves againſt the French, nor thoſe who had abandoned them in a cowardly manner. In addition to what he ſays of the fidelity of the Bretons, and of the counts de Blois, their legitimate ſovereigns, he praiſes the zeal with which ſeveral lords in Scotland received the French fleet ſent in 1385 to aſſiſt them againſt the Engliſh. The earl of Douglas, to whom he appears much attached, and in whoſe caſtle he ſpent ſeveral days in his travels into Scotland, ſeems to be of this number. At the ſame time he declaims againſt thoſe whoſe bad faith, and ingratitude, rendered this armament fruitleſs. He ſpeaks in the ſtrongeſt terms of the preſumption of the duke of Gueldres, who dared to declare war againſt the king of France (Charles VI.) in 1387, and of the inſolence with which he expreſſed himſelf in his declaration of war. He applauds the juſt indignation which induced this monarch to march in perſon to chaſtiſe the pride of this petty prince.

In ſhort, of all the nations whom he mentions in his hiſtory, there are but few whom he has not ſometimes marked with odious epithets. According to him, the Portugueſe are paſſionate and quarrelſome; the Spaniards envious, haughty, and uncleanly; the Scots perfidious, and ungrateful; the Italians aſſaſſins, and poiſonous; the Engliſh vain-boaſters, contemptuous, and cruel. There is not

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one trait againſt the French: on the contrary, this brave nation ſupports itſelf, according to Froiſſart, by the vigour and ſtrength of its knighthood, which was never ſo totally overwhelmed by its misfortunes, as not in the end to find ſome marvellous reſources in its courage. The hiſtorian alſo ſeems to have taken a pride in having been born a Frenchman, by telling us, that he owed to this title the good reception which a French eſquire gave him, when he lodged with him at Ortez.

It is true, that the king of England, and his ſon the prince of Wales, ſeem to have been, as long as they lived, the heroes of his hiſtory; and that, in the recital of ſeveral battles, he is more occupied with them than with the king of France. But, where is the Frenchman of candour, who will not find himſelf forced to give theſe princes the utmoſt praiſe? Beſides, does not our hiſtorian render juſtice to the valour and intrepidity of king Philip de Valois, and of king John? Nothing can ſurpaſs the praiſes he gives as well to the wiſdom as to the ability of king Charles V.; and, above all, that glorious teſtimony which he makes no difficulty to put into the mouth of the king of England: "There "never was a king who armed himſelf ſo little; "and there never was a king who gave me ſo much "to do."

I think I have fully eſtabliſhed the fact, by the foregoing arguments, of Froiſſart not being that partial hiſtorian he has been ſaid to have been. Nevertheleſs, I think it will be more ſafe to read him with ſome circumſpection, and I repeat that we

ought, as much as poſſible, never to loſe ſight of two objects which I have particularly endeavoured to point out in the preceding pages: I mean to ſay, on one hand, the details of his life, his different attachments to divers princes and to certain lords, the connexions he had, or the friendſhips he contracted with various perſons; on the other, the ſituations in which he was placed when he wrote his hiſtory, what parts of it were undertaken at the ſolicitation of the count de Namur, a partiſan of the Engliſh, and thoſe which he compoſed by the command of the count de Blois, a friend to France.

For, if we be determined to perſuade ourſelves that he ought to be diſpoſed to favour the Engliſh in all he relates to the year 1369; from the ſame reaſon, he ſhould lean to the French in all the enſuing years to the concluſion of his chronicle. I muſt not neglect to mention that his prejudices are ſometimes viſible when he enters into the minuteſt details, as we may be convinced by the praiſes he gives to the piety and other virtues of the count de Foix, ſtrongly contraſted by thoſe actions of cruelty he had juſt before related. But an hiſtorian, diſengaged from all paſſion, ſhould hold an even balance between the different parties; when to this quality he ſhall add, that which cannot be refuſed to Froiſſart, I mean, a continual anxiety to be informed of every event, and of every particular, that may intereſt his readers; he will yet be very far from perfection, if with theſe acquirements he does not exerciſe a ſound criticiſm, which, in the multitude of diſcordant relations, knows how to ſeparate every thing that is

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diſtant from truth; or his work will otherwiſe be leſs an hiſtory, than a heap of fables and popular rumours.

Notwithſtanding all Froiſſart tells us of the care he took to hear both ſides, and to compare their different accounts with each other, often with the original pieces, I think he may be accuſed of ſome little negligence on this head. His manner of life allowed him but little leiſure to make all the reflections and all the compariſons which ſuch an examination would require. In thoſe countries whither his active curioſity carried him, other attentions occupied his mind. Charged ſometimes with ſecret commiſſions, he endeavoured to inſinuate himſelf into the good graces of thoſe princes he viſited, by compoſitions of gallantry, by romances, by poetry; and the love he ever had for pleaſure took ſuch poſſeſſion both of his time and his heart, that his mind muſt have been often turned from the ſerious meditations of the cabinet, of which naturally it was not very capable. I am not afraid to ſay, that his manner of life is to be found in ſome ſort re-traced even in his chronicles. We ſee in them tumultuous meetings of warriors of all ages, degrees, and countries; feaſts; entertainments at inns; converſations after ſupper, which laſted until a late hour; where every one was eager to relate what he had ſeen, or done: after which, the travelling hiſtorian, before he went to bed, haſtened to put on paper every thing his memory could recollect. We obſerve in them the hiſtory of events which happened during the courſe of almoſt a century, in all the provinces of the

kingdom, and of all the people in Europe, related without order. In a ſmall number of chapters we frequently meet with ſeveral different hiſtories, begun, interrupted, recommenced, and again broken off; and in this confuſion the ſame things repeated, ſometimes in order to be corrected, ſometimes to be contradicted, or denied, or in other caſes to be augmented.

The hiſtorian ſeems to have carried even to his compoſition of the chronicle his love of romances, and to have imitated the diſorder which reigns in ſuch ſort of works; from which we might ſay he has affected even to borrow their ſtyle. Thus, for example, when he begins a narrative, he frequently uſes this expreſſion, "Now the tale ſays;" and when he ſpeaks of the death of any one, or of ſome other melancholy event, he adds, "but amend it "he could not;" phraſes which are to be met with in almoſt every page of the romances of the Round Table.

However, all I ſay of this romantic taſte of Froiſſart, which he ſeems to have preſerved in his hiſtory, applies ſolely to the ſtyle he makes uſe of; for I have never once obſerved that he attempts to embelliſh it with the marvellous. The faults which are met with contrary to hiſtorical exactneſs, ariſe ſolely from the natural confuſion of his mind, the precipitation with which he wrote, and the ignorance he muſt neceſſarily have been in reſpecting many things, which muſt be ſuppoſed to have eſcaped his enquiries. What he relates of diſtant countries, ſuch as Africa, Hungary, Tartary, and, in general, the eaſtern parts

parts of the world, is full of the groſſeſt blunders. In his time commerce had not formed any connexion between thoſe countries and our own: what was known of them, was founded on the faith of thoſe whom accident had carried thither, and who had reſided there too ſhort a time to gain ſufficient information reſpecting the manners, cuſtoms, and hiſtory of their inhabitants. But if Froiſſart has committed many faults in what he relates to us, the greateſt, without doubt, is to have ſpoken at all of what he could not with any degree of accuracy know.

All theſe defects and imperfections do not prevent his chronicle from being conſidered as one of the moſt precious monuments of our hiſtory; and the peruſal of it from being as agreeable as inſtructive to thoſe who, not confining themſelves to the knowledge of general facts, ſeek in the details of particular events, and of the uſages of that period, to develope the character of mankind, and of the ages which have paſſed.

Froiſſart was born to tranſmit to poſterity a living picture of an age, which preferred the hazard of war to the ſolid advantages of peace; which, amid the intervals of troubles almoſt continually agitating it, found relaxation only in the moſt tumultuous pleaſures.

Beſides the conflicts of ſo many nations which he relates, and in which he deſcribes divers uſages reſpecting the Ban and Arriere Ban, the attack and defence of places, fortifications, detachments, ſkirmiſhes, orders of battle, artillery, marine, the armour of thoſe on foot, and thoſe on horſeback;

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we find in this hiſtory every thing which can excite curioſity with regard to nobility and knighthood, their challenges, their deadly combats, tilts, tournaments, entries of princes; aſſemblies, feaſts, balls, the dreſſes of both ſexes; ſo that his chronicle is a complete body of the antiquities of the fourteenth century. I muſt own that theſe details only attract attention from their own ſingularity; they are related without ſtudy, and without art: it is, in truth, a familiar converſation with a man of underſtanding, who has ſeen a great deal, and tells his ſtory well. Nevertheleſs, this amiable ſtory-teller knows how, at times, and in particular when he ſpeaks of any grand event, to unite the majeſty of hiſtory with the ſimplicity of a tale. Let any one read, among other things, the many battles which he has ſo excellently painted; let him read the recital of the famous battle of Poitiers, they will there ſee in the perſon of the prince of Wales, a hero, far greater by the generoſity with which he made uſe of his victory, by his attentions to a conquered prince, and by the reſpect he always paid him, than by thoſe efforts of courage which had made him triumph. I do not believe there is any thing which can equal the ſublimity of this morſel of hiſtory, nothing which can more intereſt the heart and elevate the mind. Others, of a very different nature, have their value in their ſimplicity: ſuch is the epiſode of the love of the king of England for the counteſs of Saliſbury; the tender and affecting recital of which does not yield to the moſt ingenious and beſt-written romances. The hiſtorian ſometimes takes a gay tone; as in the chapter wherein he

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ſpeaks of the impatience of the young king Charles VI. to receive his new bride; and in that wherein he relates the jokes which this prince made on his uncle, the duke of Berry, who, at a time of life not well ſuited for love, married a young wife.

The taſte of the author is very viſible in the manner in which he treats theſe ſubjects; but as the age he lived in knew how to conciliate all things, this taſte did not exclude the ſtrain of devotion which runs through the courſe of his work. It is only to be wiſhed that he had not degraded his religion, by a credulity ridiculouſly ſuperſtitious; falſe miracles, prophecies, enchantments, have nothing in them ſo abſurd as not to find in him an unbounded and blind belief. Every one knows the tale he tells of the demon Orthon. It can ſcarcely be comprehended how he can connect with chriſtianity the example which he draws from the fable of Acteon to juſtify the probability of an adventure of the ſame ſort, which makes part of another tale. He has beſides been reproached with having diſhonoured hiſtory by his too great minuteneſs. I agree that we readily would have diſpenſed with his telling us at what ſign thoſe lodged of whom he was ſpeaking, and pointing out the inns where he himſelf had ſometimes taken up his quarters; but I cannot equally condemn the love adventures, the feaſts, and ceremonies of which he has left us deſcr ptions. Although at times his narrations be not relating to ſubjects ſufficiently noble, yet he paints ſo agreeably and ſo truly the age of which he writes the hiſtory, that

that it would, I think, be ungrateful to make any complaints.

I have inſerted ſummarily in this criticiſm a ſketch of the opinions which different authors have given of him; and they may be conſulted. I will add that of an author who knew better than any other the full value of a ready and natural genius.

"I love," ſays Montagne, "hiſtorians unaffected "or excellent: the unaffected, who have not "wherewithal to add of their own, and who are "only careful to collect and pick up every thing "which falls within their notice, and to put down "every thing without choice and without ſorting, "gives us the opportunity of wholly judging of "their truth. Such, for example, is the good "Froiſſart, who has gone on with his work with "ſuch a frank ſimplicity, that, having committed a "fault, he is no way aſhamed of avowing it, and "correcting it at the place where he is informed of "it; and who tells us the diverſity of rumours "which were current, and the different accounts "that were told to him. It is hiſtory, naked and "unadorned; every one may profit from it, ac- "cording to the depth of his underſtanding."

I come now to the editions of Froiſſart. We have three black-letter ones, and two poſterior to them; that which I believe to be the oldeſt, is by Anthony Verard, at Paris, without a date, three volumes in folio. The ſecond is printed at Paris, by Michael le Noir, the 15th July, 1505, two volumes in folio; in a handſome type. The third is dated

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Paris, by Galliot du Pré, 1530, three volumes in folio. The fourth, Lyons, by John de Tournes, 1559, 1560, 1561, three volumes in folio, reviſed and corrected by Denys Sauvage. The fifth, which copies exactly the fourth, is dated Paris, by Gervais Mallot, 1574, three volumes in folio *.

There is reaſon to believe, from the manner in which father Long expreſſes himſelf on the ſubject of the editions of Froiſſart, that there may be others in which has been united into one body his chronicle, with the firſt continuation, by an anonymous writer, to the year 1498, and with a ſecond continuation to the year 1513. But theſe works have never been printed together. This is not the only miſtake which this learned librarian has made in the ſame article; as I will ſhortly explain, when I ſpeak of theſe continuations. He alſo notices an hiſtorical work, printed under this title: "Order of the entry "and happy arrival in the city of Paris of Iſabella "of Bavaria, queen of France, wife of Charles VI.,

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* M. de St. Palaye does not ſeem to have known *all* the editions of Froiſſart. I have three of different dates from thoſe he mentions.

1. A moſt ſuperb copy on vellum, in four volumes, which originally belonged to the Soubiſe library, purchaſed at the ſale of the Bibliotheca Pariſiana; printed in black letter, by Guillaume Euſtace, at Paris, 1514.

2. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed by Michael Sonnius, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Secretary Craggs.

3. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed for Michael de Roigny, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Tyrwhitt.

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"in the year 1389; extracted from the fourth "book of the hiſtory of Froiſſart;" without marking either the date, or place of its impreſſion.

I am ignorant whether this be not an old fragment of Froiſſart which Sauvage had conſulted, which had been printed before the black-letter editions, and of which I have never been able to gain any knowledge. To return to thoſe editions I have pointed out; I ſhall fix principally on that of Sauvage, and endeavour to ſhew, at the ſame time, what opinion ſhould be formed of the black-letter editions which preceded his.

If the hiſtorian has been accuſed of ſhewing too great a hatred to the French in ſeveral parts of his chronicle, the editor has been equally accuſed of ſhewing too great a partiality for them, by ſuppreſſing every thing which might diſpleaſe them. Perhaps this charge is only made in conſequence of the firſt; and readers, prejudiced on one hand againſt Froiſſart for having been an enemy to the French, ſurprized on the other at not finding any traces of this pretended enmity in his hiſtory, may have judged, without further reaſon, that Sauvage had retrenched, through love for his country, all that the hiſtorian had written through hatred to it. The French, with whom Sauvage, according to this mode of reaſoning, ought to have found favour, have not been leſs hard upon him on another head. According to ſeveral, he has altered and diſfigured the proper names; he has changed the ſimple language of the times of Froiſſart, to ſubſtitute his own; by which he has more obſcured the hiſtory than enlightened

lightened it, and has only caused those editions which were prior to his own to become more scarce, and more dear. We shall see whether this be the recompence that all the trouble he gave himself deserved: but I ought first to speak of the manner in which he laboured at this edition, and the assistance he had, according to the account which he gives himself.

Sauvage, having first transcribed the printed copy of Galliot du Pré, compared it with the two other black letter editions, when he found the difference between them so trifling that he thought he ought to consider all three but as the same. He then collated his text with a printed fragment still more antient; then with the third volume of "La Mer "des Histoires," in which Froissart has been copied from the beginning to the 177th chapter; and lastly, with two abridgments in MS. which he distinguishes, not being acquainted with the authors, by the names of "La Chaux and de Sala," who had communicated them to him.

The editor, in acknowledging that these abridgements, or manuscripts, which were so much damaged, that he was frequently obliged to guess the meaning, have been at times very useful to him, gives notice that he did not follow their punctuation; but, persuaded there cannot be too great exactness in religiously preserving the language of antient authors, he follows, with a scrupulous attention, the orthography, the antient words, and antient modes of speech, although they were very different from what they were when the first copies came from the hands of Froissart. He, nevertheless, avows

avows that, without derogating from the reſpect due to the antient text, he has thought himſelf juſtified in making ſome changes, but ſolely, when he has been under the indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſeeking the aid of better hiſtorians, to give a meaning to paſſages which were in want of it. Even in theſe caſes, the only ones in which he has taken the liberty of making any change, he has had the precaution to place in the margin the original reading, however defective it might be; leaving, by theſe means, to the reader the power of judging of the corrections he had made. With regard to proper names, and the names of places, he has not touched them, from the impoſſibility of correcting them with ſucceſs.

The editor addreſſes the four volumes of Froiſſart to the conſtable de Montmorency, by as many dedicatory epiſtles. He tells us in the firſt, and by an advertiſement to his readers, that the editions he had already given of ſeveral of our hiſtorians were but preparatory to a general hiſtory of the Gauls and of the kingdom of France, which he was then employed on.

Sauvage promiſes nothing relative to his edition of Froiſſart, which he has not faithfully performed; as we may be convinced, by following the notes which he added. I do not ſay, that he has always choſen well from the different texts he had under his eyes; but, if the corrections he propoſes be not all equally juſt, there are many which offer a clear and very probable meaning of paſſages which, in the old editions, are a collection of words without connexion, and without ſenſe. With regard to the

language, beſides his attention never to change any of the antient words, he accompanies them with an explanation whenever he thinks them not ſufficiently intelligible. His zeal in this reſpect is more praiſeworthy than his intelligence. It is ſurpriſing that, after having publiſhed ſeveral of our old authors, he was not better acquainted with their language, and that he ſhould add ſuch unnatural explanations and etymologies.

As the chronology of Froiſſart was ſometimes defective, Sauvage has reformed it in thoſe places which appeared to him moſt faulty. He has often recalled to the reader's memory diſtant paſſages, in order to reconcile them, or to ſhew their contradiction; or, in ſhort, to demonſtrate the connexion of certain facts with each other; but his attempts in this part are ſcarcely worth mentioning.

Some genealogies, which regard perſons of whom Froiſſart ſpeaks, as well as ſome remarks on divers places, the poſition of which he attempts to fix, by relating the different names they are called by, ſhew that the editor had not abſolutely neglected theſe two objects. We muſt not be ſurprized that ſo many foreign names ſhould not always be exactly correct; beſides their having been changed ſince that time, we ſhould not impute as blame, either to the author or editor, the faults of copyiſts who have incorrectly read them, and who have written them according to the pronunciation or orthography of their language and age; for, not only are the names read in as many different ways as there are manuſcripts, but they continually vary in the ſame MS.

as often as they are met with. The only method of remedying this, is to clear up Froiſſart by himſelf, in collating the various paſſages where the ſame name is found; and this is what Sauvage has done; and for greater ſecurity he has read over five times the text of his author; however, when he could not draw any advantage from this repeated reading, he has made uſe of aſſiſtance wherever it could be found. He appears, in fact, to have ſtudied very carefully the maps and deſcriptions of thoſe countries the hiſtorian ſpeaks of, and alſo to have conſulted their inhabitants. We obſerve, that when he retired to Lyons to give himſelf up more freely to ſtudy, he went to reconnoitre in that neighbourhood the field of battle of Brinay, or Brinais, where the Duke of Bourbon had been defeated in 1360 by the free companies. The deſcription he gives of it is very inſtructive, and ſerves to clear up the circumſtances of that event. An epitaph which he had read in a church at Lyons ſerves at another time to prove the falſity of a date in Froiſſart. In ſhort, there is ſcarcely any hiſtorian of importance, of whatever country he might be, whom Sauvage had not ſeen, in order the better to underſtand him on whom he was employed, and to make him better underſtood by others, and to confirm or to rectify his teſtimony. We may count nearly forty authors whom he cites in his margins, as well relative to the hiſtory of France, as to that of England, Scotland, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Italy, Hungary, and Turkey. I add, that he conſulted the original acts, ſince he has inſerted in his annotations the

the ratification of the treaty of Bretigny, ſigned by the Prince of Wales at Calais, after having tranſcribed with his hand upon a copy from the ſame Prince, collated by a "Tréſorier des Chartres."

If, then, the edition of Sauvage be ſtill very imperfect, it has not any defects but what the preceding editions have in common with it; to which, however, it is infinitely ſuperior. The editor, well verſed in our antiquities and our hiſtory, exact in the performance of his duty, and indefatigable in the purſuit of his object, proves, by the conſtant uſe he makes of the two manuſcripts, by the judgment he gives of their inſufficiency, and by the regret he expreſſes at not being able to meet with better, that he has been in greater want of aſſiſtance, than of good will, good faith, and capacity.

In his time, manuſcripts buried in the libraries of ignorant monks, or in the archives of private perſons, and unknown to their poſſeſſors, were loſt to the learned world. Times have ſince changed; thanks to the attention of miniſters, who neglect nothing for the public good, there is ſcarcely a man of letters to whom manuſcripts of all ages are not become a ſort of property. Nothing would be wanting to the good fortune of this age, if, with ſuch abundant ſuccours, there could be found men, as laborious as Sauvage, to take advantage of them; for, I have not a doubt, but that, if he had been able to procure acceſs to the manuſcripts we poſſeſs, he would have given us an excellent edition of Froiſſart.

The number of thoſe known at this day is ſo conſiderable, that, after the Bible and the Fathers, I do not believe there is any work of which there have

been ſo many copies; which ſhews the great eſteem it has been held in during every age. In the ſingle national library there are upwards of thirty volumes in folio, which contain ſeparately ſome one of the four books into which this Hiſtory is divided. The numbers 6760, 8317, 8318, 8319, 8320, 8324, 8331-2, 8332, 8334, 8335 and 36 joined together, 8334; and the numbers of the manuſcripts of Colbert, united with thoſe of the nation, 15, 85, and 231, include the firſt volume. The numbers 8321, 8330, 8333, 8337, and 8338, added together with thoſe of Colbert, 16, and 86, compoſe the ſecond volume. The numbers 8325, 8328, 8337, and 8338, added to thoſe of Colbert, 87, and 232, the third volume. The numbers 8329, 8331, 8341, 8344, added together, and that of Colbert, 17, compoſe the fourth volume.

I ſhould extend this Eſſay to too great a length if I were to deſcribe the form, the age, the titles, the omiſſions, or imperfections, and other ſingularities, which diſtinguiſh theſe manuſcripts. In regard to other and more eſſential differences, I ſhall ſay in general, that the greater part conſiſt in tranſpoſitions of ſome articles, in changes, additions or retrenchments of words, in omiſſions ſometimes conſiderable; abbreviations of ſeveral chapters, or compreſſion of many events into a narrow compaſs; vague tranſitions, uſeleſs recapitulations of the foregoing chapters; certain modes of phraſeology, which, like formulas, are repeated in every page; and ſome interpolations of the copyiſts, which, ſerving only to ſwell out the volume, have been wiſely curtailed by Sauvage in his printed edi-

tion. I will not quote any other example than the paſſage, where, ſpeaking of the affection of Edward III. for the princeſs of Hainault, whom he married, he ſays, " a fine ſpark of love therefore ſtruck him;" to which the copyiſt adds theſe words, " which Madame Venus ſent him by Cupid the " god of love." However, among theſe frivolous additions, there may have been ſome of importance, which it would be proper to ſearch for in thoſe parts that offer any difficulty, or in thoſe articles which demand a ſerious diſcuſſion.

After theſe general obſervations, I will ſay one word of the principal ſingularities which I have noticed in ſome of theſe MSS. Thoſe of the numbers 8317, and 15 of Colbert, are remarkable for the corrections which have been made on their margins in the article that mentions Philip de Valois's acceſſion to the Crown of France. The ſame hand has alſo added to this laſt manuſcript a note, which is written on one of the blank leaves prefixed to the Chronicle: " Two verſes which the Peers of " France ſent to King Edward of England, at the " time when he diſputed the ſucceſſion to the Crown " of France.

" Credo Regnorum qui cupis eſſe duorum
" Succedunt mares huic regno non mulieres *."

In

* To re-eſtabliſh the meaſure and the ſenſe of the firſt verſe, one muſt, I think, add the word Rex: regnorum qui Rex cupis eſſe duorum. And to make Edward feel the application, one may, inſtead of Credo, read Crede, or Credito,

In number 8318, we read in the ſame hand writing with the manuſcript, that it was given to John Duke of Berry the 8th November, 1407, by William Boiſratier, Maſter of Requeſts, and Counſellor to this Prince. If it be the ſame which has ſince been given by M. de Chandenier to M. le Laboureur, as this laſt believed, it would be rendered the more precious from this circumſtance, that there would be found in it very conſiderable variations, which he ſays he has obſerved in this manuſcript, from the printed copies, and more eſpecially from that of Sauvage; or it would convince us of the falſity of this imputation, which appears to me very ſuſpicious.

But as the copy of M. le Laboureur, as he himſelf informs us, contained miniatures repreſenting the principal events of the Hiſtory, and as the one which Boiſratier preſented to the Duke of Berry does not contain any, it is certain that it cannot be the ſame. Although the miniatures, head-pieces, capital letters illuminated and emboſſed with gold, in the MS. 8319, be of great beauty; it muſt, nevertheleſs, yield in this reſpect to number 8320, from which much may be learnt regarding warlike cuſtoms, ceremonies, dreſſes, and other points of antiquity. The Reverend Father Montfaucon has taken from them the prints of the entry of Queen

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of which Credo is perhaps an abbreviation. With regard to the ſecond, the number of ſyllables is preſerved which an hexameter verſe requires; and that ſhould be ſufficient not to quarrel with the meaſure. St. Palaye.

Iſabella

Iſabella of France, and the arreſt of the King of Navarre, which he has inſerted in his "Monu-"ments François." Notwithſtanding this I believe, that in theſe miniatures, which are not, at the moſt, earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, the painter has confounded the dreſſes of his own age with thoſe of the times of which he was painting the hiſtory.

We ſee at the beginning of ſeveral MSS. the author repreſented differently dreſſed, ſometimes as a canon, with his ſurplice and *aumuſſe* *; ſometimes in a purple robe, preſenting his work to the King of France, or to ſome other Prince, ſeated on his throne, and crowned. The King of England is known by his robe embroidered with leopards in the number 8331-2, and the Queen of England in number 15. of Colbert's collections.

The moſt antient of all the manuſcripts of the firſt volume are the numbers 8318 and 8331-2, which appear to me to be of the end of the fourteenth century: and though many things are deficient in each of them, their antiquity ought to give them the preference. My opinion is the ſame reſpecting the MS. number 8333, being the moſt antient of the ſecond volume; though it does not ſeem to me to have been written earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century. The number 8321 is a continuation of number 8320; there are fewer

* Aumuſſe is a ſort of bracelet of fur, which canons wear on their arms, when dreſſed. I cannot find any Engliſh by which to tranſlate it.

miniatures, but they are equally beautiful; which is the only merit the number poſſeſſes; for otherwiſe it is, properly ſpeaking, but an extract of Froiſſart, and frequently many chapters are omitted together.

Number 16, which is the ſame writing as number 15, of which it is a continuation, contains, beſides the ſecond volume, a part of the third, as far as theſe words or the 44th chapter, page 151 of the edition of Sauvage: "Thus was broken off the "expedition by ſea at this time;" to which it adds, "which coſt the kingdom of France C. M. francs, "thirty times counted."

No. 8330 has for title, "The third volume of "the Chronicles of Froiſſart;" although it contains but the ſecond. By a ſimilar miſtake we read, at the end of number 8325, which concludes the third volume, "here ends the ſecond volume of the "Chronicles of Froiſſart." This MS. which is but of the middle of the fifteenth century, is that in which the language of old times is the moſt preſerved: perhaps it has been copied from ſome other more antient than thoſe which we poſſeſs. There are at the end ſome circumſtances concerning Froiſſart, which are alſo in the MSS. 8328 and 232, and which are not in the printed copies. It is chiefly the antiquity of the ſtyle, which makes me conſider the MS. 8329, although ſcarce earlier than the end of the fifteenth century, as the beſt we have for the fourth volume. We find in it, as in the numbers 8331, 8341, 42, and 17, two important additions. The firſt is the preface, which I have noticed in the life of Froiſſart; the ſecond terminates

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the whole of his Chronicle, when the author, towards the end, ſpeaking of the death of Richard, ſays that he would not enter into any detail of it, from want of having ſufficient information. The addition is a ſort of letter, true or falſe, which is addreſſed to him, and by which he is informed of all the particulars; ſuch as had been written by a man worthy of belief, who was then in England. The manner in which this fact is related has not been forgotten by the Engliſh hiſtorians, who have mentioned the different rumours which had gone abroad on this ſubject.

Number 17 ſeems to have been written by the ſame hand as 15 and 16, and theſe three added to the MS. of the third book, which is wanting, perhaps made the work complete.

Under the number 169 of the Coiſlin library, at preſent in that of St. Germain-des-Prez, are comprehended four volumes, three of which are of the ſame hand-writing; that is to ſay, of the middle of the fifteenth century, containing the firſt, the third, and laſt book of Froiſſart. The fourth, which is of the ſame writing, but more beautiful, is another copy of the laſt book, with the addition which I have juſt mentioned, concerning the death of Richard.

M. Mahudel has communicated to me a MS. of the beginning of the fifteenth century, without a title, and which may have been ſuppoſed to have been written by Froiſſart; but it is only a very ſuccinct abridgement, in which has been preſerved, as much as poſſible, the original text of the hiſtorian to the end of the firſt volume, where the abridgement ceaſes.

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It is divided into ſix books, of which the two firſt end with theſe words: "Here ends the firſt "(the ſecond) book of this ſecond volume of the "Chronicles of England, and conſequently the "ſeventh (the eighth) of the four volumes *par-* "*ciaulx.*" We read alſo at the end of the ſixth, "Here ends the ſecond volume of the Chronicles "of England."

This MS. probably made part of four volumes of a compilation of a Hiſtory of England, divided each into ſix books; ſuch nearly as our Chronicles of St. Denys. The firſt volume would have contained events anterior to Froiſſart; and as the ſecond, which we have, includes an abridgement of his firſt volume, we may preſume that the two following would, in like manner, have contained that of the three other volumes, and perhaps alſo the hiſtory of the times poſterior to them.

This abridgement, however, is the ſame with that of La Chaux, which Sauvage has made uſe of; I diſcover the marks by which he has pointed it out, with the exception of the firſt leaf, which may have been loſt ſince that time.

To this great number of MSS. others muſt be added, which contain only very ſhort abridgements of the Chronicle of Froiſſart; and which are to be found in the national library, among the MSS. of the Colbert collection. Such are the numbers 169, including part of the firſt and ſecond volumes abridged; 258, nearly conformable to the foregoing: excepting where they have added at the end four pages, containing "The tenor of the

"Letters

" Letters of alliance of France with Scotland" in 1379, with the names of thoſe lords, as well Scots as French, who ſigned the treaty; and 2444, which comprehends the abridgement of the four volumes. This is preceded by a preface, wherein the abbreviator having ſaid he ſhould follow Froiſſart " chap-" ter by chapter," adds, " and becauſe this ſame " Maſter John Froiſſart has not made an Index to " his firſt book; and by means of the Index to a " book we may, at one glance, ſee thoſe parts " which we may be deſirous to read; I have re-" ſolved to divide this firſt book into one hundred " and twenty-ſeven chapters."

We ſee nothing in theſe MSS. which either eſtabliſhes the pretended enmity of Froiſſart againſt the French, nor which juſtifies the accuſation brought againſt Sauvage of having altered the text of his hiſtorian. But a magnificent MS. at Breſlaw furniſhes, according to ſome writers, an inconteſtable proof of it. The learned world, ſay they, believe they have an entire Froiſſart; it has been groſsly deceived by Sauvage, who has not preſerved the tenth part of it in his edition. We may reply to this charge: 1ſt, That Sauvage will be always exempt from reproach, ſince he has given us the text of Froiſſart, ſuch as he had ſeen it in the known copies of his time. 2dly, That the deſcription they give us of the miniatures of this MS. of Breſlaw, makes us believe that it cannot be much older than towards the end of the fifteenth century; and that conſequently, it is but of very moderate authority. In ſhort, after the agreement of ſo many other

other MSS. of which many even have been written in England, or deſtined for that country ſince the author is repreſented as offering his book to the King and Queen of England, it will not be eaſy to perſuade the world that the ſingle MS. of Breſlaw contains alone ſuch very conſiderable differences. At leaſt it becomes prudent to ſuſpend our judgment, until they ſhall have publiſhed the MS. itſelf, or ſome of thoſe paſſages which are ſaid to have been retrenched. We cannot too eagerly preſs the poſſeſſors of it to allow the public to participate of a treaſure ſo infinitely precious to the lovers of hiſtory. If, hitherto, we have been in error, we will cheerfully turn back; and there is not a man of letters poſſeſſing ſenſe, who laying aſide all national intereſt, would not ardently deſire to have the Chronicles of Froiſſart, ſuch as they came from the hands of the author. Many MSS. of Froiſſart are to be found in the libraries of foreign countries. There is one in the library of the cathedral of Tournay, according to the report of ſeveral Flemiſh librarians *; three in England, according to the catalogue of MSS. in that kingdom, which alſo mentions ſome manuſcript notes collected by Mr. Aſhmole; and others again, which may be ſeen in the new Catalogue of MSS. by Father Montfaucon.

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* M. de St. Palaye is ignorant how rich this country is in MSS. of Froiſſart. There are many magnificent ones in the Britiſh Muſeum, at Oxford, Cambridge, and in other public and private libraries. I have in my library not leſs than ſix; but not one is a complete hiſtory.

Beſide

Beſide the antient abridgements of Froiſſart, Sleiden, full of admiration for this hiſtorian, and anxious that the advantages which may be derived from him ſhould be common to all ages and nations, made in 1537 a Latin abridgement, which was afterwards tranſlated into French and Engliſh by P. Golin, in 4to. London, 1608.

In a preface, or epiſtle, which precedes the Latin edition, the author recommends the ſtudy of the Hiſtory of France above all others, and particularly that of Froiſſart, whoſe candour he praiſes, and whom he only finds fault with for being ſometimes too minute in his military details, and in his converſations with princes. Foreigners accuſe Sleidan of not having compoſed this abridgement with the diſintereſtedneſs and fidelity to have been expected from a man of ſo great a reputation, and of wiſhing to favour the French too much, as well as of paſſing over the moſt brilliant actions of the Engliſh, where he quits the ſenſe of his author, in writing otherwiſe than Froiſſart had done: this laſt reproach does not ſeem to me well founded. With regard to omiſſions, he has taken that liberty which an abbreviator ought to be allowed, to employ himſelf chiefly in extracting what he thinks ſuitable for his purpoſe; and it is but reaſonable to allow that Sleidan, who at the time was living in France with Frenchmen, may, without any want of candour, have attached himſelf principally to theſe facts which concerned them. It will not be ſo eaſy to juſtify Belleforêt, who, giving a French abridgement

ment of Froiſſart, has contented himſelf with tranſlating Sleidan literally, without ever mentioning the author whom he tranſlated.

The Engliſh, whom the reading of Froiſſart intereſts in ſo particular a manner, have in their language a tranſlation of the Chronicles of Froiſſart, compoſed by Sir John Bourchier, lord Berners, by order of King Henry VIII. and printed towards the end of his reign. There is alſo one in Flemiſh, printed by Guerrit Vander Loo, in folio; without counting that in the ſame tongue which Voſſius had ſeen in manuſcript.

I ſhall not ſay any thing of theſe tranſlations, not having met with either. That of Bourchier is, they ſay, more correct than the French editions, in regard to proper names *; this muſt, however, be underſtood to mean Engliſh names. The Flemiſh tranſlation muſt have the ſame advantage with regard to the proper names of perſons and places in Flanders. They may both be of great utility to any future Editor who may wiſh to give a good edition of Froiſſart.

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* I am ſorry that I muſt contradict M. de St. Palaye, in his opinion of Lord Berners's tranſlation. Had it been as he imagines, I ſhould not have attempted to offer a new tranſlation to the public: but, ſo far from being correct in regard to names, he mangles them nearly as much as old Froiſſart. I cannot flatter myſelf with having ſucceeded to my own ſatisfaction, although I have taken every poſſible pains to make it as complete as the difficulties attending it would admit.

Since

Since the tranſlation of this Eſſay was firſt printed, I have obtained permiſſion to have the Breſlaw MS. collated. I have as yet received only the additions to the firſt volume, which are very extenſive and more important, than M. de St. Palaye ſeems to have ſuppoſed. The whole will be publiſhed with due ſpeed, in a ſupplementary volume to the Chronicles; and I hope will effectually clear up all doubts of Froiſſart's partiality as an hiſtorian.

June 12, 1805.

ON

THE POETRY OF FROISSART.

BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER,

In the Memoires de l'Academie, Vol. xiv. p. 219, &c.

HISTORIANS have a great advantage over other writers; for as the principal merit of their works depends on their veracity, they are not liable to the revolutions or caprices to which other productions are ſubjected, from the arbitrary taſte of different nations and ages, and for this reaſon are tranſmitted with more certainty to poſterity.

Froiſſart, whoſe name is deſervedly celebrated on account of the hiſtory he has left us, would ſcarcely be known from his poetry, if Paſquier had not noticed the title of a copy of his poems which he had ſeen in the king's library at Fontainbleau: he may, however, have occupied a no leſs honourable place among the poets of his age, than among the hiſtorians; and this is a point which M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye has undertaken to examine before he concludes the reſearches he has made concerning him and his productions. To confine himſelf ſtrictly within the limits he has preſented to himſelf, he does not undertake to enter into a minute detail of all his poetry, which comprehends about thirty thouſand verſes.

Among the poems of conſiderable length to which Froiſſart has given the names of *Traittez*, M. de la Curne has choſen the *Paradis d'Amour*, and *l'Horloge*, *Amoureuſe*. Among thoſe called *Ditiez*, he has ſelected that of the *Marguerite*; and in the miſcellaneous pieces, as Rondeaus, Ballads, Paſtorals, *Lais*, *Virelais*, and Chants Royaux, he has taken particular pains to make us acquainted with the paſtorals and rondeaus.

THE PARADISE OF LOVE.

The poet, tormented by the moſt violent love, falls aſleep, and dreams; and the ſubject of this dream forms the plan of his poem. He finds himſelf ſeated in a beautiful wood, on the banks of a rivulet beſprinkled with flowers, and ſurrounded by birds, among whom the nightingales form the moſt charming concerts. Recollecting at this moment the events of his youth, and the various ſucceſs he had met with in his amours, he utters a violent complaint againſt the god of love for all the misfortunes he had made him ſuffer. Plunged in a melancholy not to be alleviated by the ſongs of the birds, he hears a confuſed noiſe of voices, which made him retire behind a buſh—two ladies appear as brilliant in charms as in dreſs, and having approached, want to beat him in revenge for the inſult he had juſt offered to the God of Love, their maſter; their names were Pleaſure and Hope. Being ſomewhat appeaſed, they tell him he ſhould impute his misfortunes to himſelf alone, for that he had failed in ſubmiſſion and perſeverance, which had

had been ſtrongly recommended to him, on his engaging under the ſtandard of Love; and, beſides, aſſure him that by theſe means more might have been obtained by him from the lady of his heart in one hour, than he could have imagined or even wiſhed. Pleaſure, after this uſeful advice, ſatisfies his curioſity to know what were her functions with the God of Love. The principal, ſhe ſaid, conſiſted in ſupporting his power, by the reciprocal charms which ſhe conferred on two perſons in love with each other, whence comes the proverbial ſaying, no ugly lover nor ill-favoured miſtreſs. He then conjures her by all the credit ſhe may be ſuppoſed to have in the Court of Love, to exert herſelf that the lady to whom he had paid his homage ſhould become leſs cruel.

Hope, into whoſe hands Pleaſure transfers him, demands if he is not jealous, which ſhe calls the curſe of lovers, and promiſes to cure him of this diſorder, provided he would never loſe ſight of her. At length the two ladies conduct him by the hand to the park where Love reſided, and on the road aſk him for ſome ballads and virelais of his compoſition, which they ſing with him.

They meet near a hill *doux penſer*, *gentil*, *damoiſeau*, holding two greyhounds in a leaſh, who points out to them the place where they would find the God they are in ſearch of. Several hunters, ſuch as *Beau-ſemblant*, *Beau--regard*, *Franc-vouloir*, *Deſir*, *Souvenir*, *Bien-beſognant*, and others, ſcattered over different parts with greyhounds, purſuing the chace of love, afford opportunities to the new pilgrim to

inquire if the God had many ſuch hunters, who learns that he had thirty times as many, as well counts and dukes, as kings and others.

When they had advanced farther, they meet a large company of beautiful ladies and damſels, with handſome youths, all clothed in green, and preparing to dance; and on his aſking who they were, Pleaſure names many heroes and heroines of romance, all ſubjects of the divinity, who dance near the paradiſe of his reſidence. At laſt they come to his pavilion, which is extended under a grove of trees, and the poet being preſented, recites a lay, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the God, that he promiſes him his aſſiſtance, and deſires the ladies who had brought him, to take every care of him, and ſhew him his gardens.

As they were walking, ſinging, and gathering flowers, they met, in a handſome mead ſurrounded with roſe-trees, *Bel-accueil*, who was making a chaplet of flowers, which two young maidens were collecting for him. The lover inſtantly runs to caſt himſelf at the feet of his miſtreſs; ſpeaks to her of his paſſion with tranſports, intermixed with trembling; tells her of the prayer he had made to Love, and intreats her to ſoften a little of her rigour, if ſhe be deſirous that he ſhould live. She aſks, with a ſweet ſmile, what he wiſhes from her, and as ſhe had recommended him not to exceed the bounds of diſcretion, he conjures her, that now being alone, ſhe would allow him to hear ſome ſoft expreſſions from her mouth, and to condeſcend to retain him as her humble ſervant.

Having,

Having obtained theſe favours, he goes away with her, and ſings a ballad, which gains the applauſe of Pleaſure, as well as of his miſtreſs: the laſt alſo rewards him with her permiſſion to kiſs a chaplet of daiſies which ſhe had juſt gathered, and which ſhe herſelf kiſſes as ſhe places it on his head. He is on the point of obtaining his utmoſt wiſhes, when ſhe propoſes going to another part of the garden to amuſe themſelves; but the joy he feels at this inſtant (for it ſeemed as if Pleaſure was touching him) making him ſtart, he awakens, and then returns thanks to the Gods, who had given him a dream ſo full of charms, that he had been tranſported into the Paradiſe of Love.

If the poem which follows, under the title of *l'Horloge Amoureuſe*, is not ſo full of fictions, it is not the leſs curious for the information it affords us relating to the hiſtory of the arts.

While all things concur towards perfection, and a learned ſociety, under the eyes of different enlightened miniſters of ſtate, unite to the efforts of the moſt able artiſts, the fruits of the deepeſt ſpeculation, it would become thoſe who purſue hiſtorical reſearches, to be animated with a ſimilar zeal, and at times to turn their views to the ſame objects; and for the utility of the arts, to point out by what ſteps, and by what means they have riſen to the height at which we now ſee them; and for the honour of thoſe who cultivate them to ſhew how very far the moderns have gone beyond their predeceſſors in this line.

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Monuments, such as the *Horloge Amoureuse* of Froissart, would form an essential part of such a plan; for it not only contains a most circumstantial comparison of each part of a clock, and its movement, with the state of a heart in love, and its various agitations; but among other particulars of this comparison, it informs us of the ancient state of clock-making. We see, in the first place, that with regard to the movement, and the striking part, each had but two wheels instead of four, which they have at present. These two wheels were sufficient, but the clocks went only six or eight hours, and they were wound up three or four times a-day.

Secondly, That the clock marked twenty-four hours, beginning with one to twelve, and then repeating the same a second time.

Thirdly, That the dial went round, and the hour was marked by a fixed point, which served for a hand.

Fourthly, That instead of a pendulum, or balance wheel, which were not then invented, the clocks had a piece called *foliot*, which bore two small weights called *regules*, whose use was to retard or advance the clock, as they were brought more or less near to the centre of the foliot.

Beside the differences in the construction of clocks, we remark in this poem several terms of clock-making, which were then used, and are now no longer current.

The flower called daisy, which incessantly turns to the sun, is celebrated in a poem under the title of

le

le Dit de la Marguerite. This flower was formed, according to the poet, from the tears the young Heres ſhed over the tomb of Cepheus her lover. Mercury accidentally led to the ſpot of this metamorphoſis, as he was driving his flock to paſture; ſurpriſed to ſee ſo beautiful a flower in the month of January, when all the others were lifeleſs, and delighted with its brilliancy, he made a chaplet of it, and ſent it by his meſſenger Liris to the fair Heres. So rare a preſent cauſed another change more happy than the firſt; the nymph, hitherto cruel, became affectionate. The God full of love and gratitude for a flower, to which he owed the happineſs of his life, determined to wear it ever after as an ornament to his head.

This fiction is written with much delicacy and ingenuity; the purity with which the author proteſts to love eternally this flower, the ſubject of his poem, is expreſſed with too much tenderneſs not to conceal a real paſſion, perhaps, for a lady of a ſimilar name.

The greater number of Froiſſart's paſtorals are on the prizes offered in different parts of Flanders and Picardy, to the faireſt ſhepherdeſs of the diſtrict, or to the ſwain who ſhould in ſong the beſt celebrate his love. M. de la Curne deſignedly ſuppreſſes many details concerning the dreſs of that age, the various muſical inſtruments uſed in the country, and other particulars of the ſame ſort. He likewiſe paſſes over ſeveral paſtorals, apparently more important from their connexion with hiſtorical events; ſuch as a coining of money; the ar-

rival of King John of France in England; the return of the duke of Brabant to his country after his captivity; the victory gained by Charles VI. of France at Caſſel; the marriage of the duke of Berry; the public entry of Queen Iſabella into Paris, &c.

Froiſſart has ſucceeded better in his paſtorals than in any other ſpecies of poetry: that ſimple and ingenuous gaiety, which is the general character of his mind, he has transfuſed wholly into the ſentiments and deportment of his ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes. The ſubjects they diſcuſs, their manner of treating them, and their language, are always conformable to their ſtate and ſentiments; a lively joy animates their games and their paſtimes, but to render it more ſtriking, M. de la Curne thus relates a part of the fourth paſtoral.

A rich ſhepherd balances between the fear of loſing the affection of his miſtreſs, who threatens to leave him if he does not marry her, or the great wealth his relations promiſe him to prevent the match: he, therefore, confidentially ſeeks advice in this embarraſſment from a ſhepherd who is his friend, and whoſe counſels end always with

Si tu peux avoir ta Bergére,
Oſerois-tu demander mieux!

Were that lovely maid your bride,
What could you demand beſide?

At this moment the ſhepherdeſs appears, they advance to meet her; and the friend who has been conſulted ſays,

S'elle

S'elle veut eſtre t'amiette,
Oſerois-tu demander mieux!

What compar'd is earthly gain,
Could you her conſent obtain!

The ſhepherdeſs has two chaplets of flowers; ſhe gives one to her lover, who is tranſported with joy; the two ſhepherds then take her by the hand.

Et puis prirent à caroler *
Et le bergerette à chanter
Une chançon moult nouvelette;
Et diſoit en chançonette,
Di moi, auſel, ſi t'ayt diex,
Si je voeil eſtre t'amiette,
Oſerois-tu demander mieux!

Sweetly ſung the gentle ſwains;
Sweetly ſhe return'd their ſtrains
In notes they never hop'd to hear,
While thoſe ſoft accents charm'd the ear,
Tell me, ſhould the Gods provide
Such a bleſſing in a bride,
What could you wiſh on earth beſide?

The ſubjects of Rondeaus are almoſt always uniform. The moſt part of Froiſſart's ſpeak the natural ſentiments of a lover ſometimes well treated; at other times the reverſe: at times gay and happy; at others melancholy and in deſpair. The expreſſions are ever lively, tender and ſimple, and perfectly paint the paſſion with which his breaſt is agitated. Underneath are two examples. The firſt Rondeau begins

Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire!
En vous ne puis veoir riens de ſeur.

* Danſer.

Je

Je ne cognois ne vous ne votre afaire,
Amours, amours, &c.
Lequel vaut mieux parler, prier ou taire!
Dites le moi, vous qui ayez bon eur,
Amours, amours, &c.

Ye Gods of ſoft paſſion, what do you intend?
You're ſo fickle and frolic, and fond of diſguiſe;
I know not is Cupid my foe or my friend,
Ye Gods of ſoft paſſion, what do you intend?
Whether ſilence or ſpeech my condition will mend,
O tell me ſome counſellor cunning and wiſe!
Ye Gods of ſoft paſſion, what do you intend?

The ſecond rondeau:

De quoi que ſoit, ſe doit renouveller
Uns jolis coers, le premier jour de May,
Voire s'il aime, ou s'il penſe à aimer,
De quoi que ſoit, &c.
Pour ce vous veux, Madame, emayoler *
En lieu de May, d'un loyal coer que j'ay,
De quoi que ſoit, &c.

SHE.

Whatever betides, I will ſummon my ſwain
On the firſt day of May his homage to pay;
And to know if he's bound, or has broken my chain;
Whatever betides, I will ſummon my ſwain.

HE.

Though I know your delight is to ſport with my pain,
And ring the loud ſummons the firſt day of May;
Be it known I'm your ſlave, and your ſlave will remain;
And you need not inquire if I ſtill wear your chain.

We may generally ſay of the poetry of Froiſſart, that he was as much wanting in invention for his

* Donner le May.

ſubject,

ſubject, as in imagination for his ornaments. His ſtyle, leſs copious than looſe, too frequently offers a tireſome repetition of the ſame phraſes and turns of expreſſion to introduce common thoughts: but the ſimplicity and freedom of his verſification are not always void of grace; we meet now and then with poetical images, and many lines of verſe of a very happy flow.

Such was the ſtate of poetry in that age, and painting was nearly the ſame. Theſe two arts, which have almoſt always been united, ſeem to have made an uniform progreſs. Painters, on their emerging from barbariſm, ſeizing at firſt in detail all the ſmall objects nature preſented to them, painted inſects, flowers and birds, with ſuch brilliant colours, and drew them with ſuch exactneſs, that we at this day admire them among the ornaments of ancient manuſcripts. When they attempted to repreſent the human figure, they ſtudied more to render the outline and the detail of hair as minute as poſſible, than to give expreſſion to the countenance, or motion to the body. Theſe figures, of which vulgar nature furniſhed them with the models, were thrown together, as by accident, without ſelection, or taſte in the compoſition.

Poets, as barren as painters, contented themſelves with deſcriptions ſuited to their talents, and never left off, until the ſubject was worn out. They could ſcarcely ſing any thing but the beauty of ſpring, the verdure of the country, the enamelled meade, the chaunt of the birds, the clearneſs of a beautiful fountain, or a rivulet that murmured. Sometimes, however,

however, they told with ſimplicity the childiſh amuſements of lovers, their ſmiles, their paſtimes, their palpitations in the joy of an agitated heart; their imagination did not extend further, and they were beſides incapable of forming any link or connection between their ideas.

William de Lorris, who began the *Roman de la Roſe*, feigns, that having fallen aſleep in an orchard, he had ſeen in a dream allegorical perſonages of every virtue and every vice; that by walking through different groves he had heard their converſation, and had even converſed with them himſelf. It is not known whether he be the firſt inventor of this fiction; but however that may be, all the poets, for more than two centuries, enchanted with ſo rare an invention, thought they could not do better than copy it; and whenever they enriched it with any additional circumſtance, it was the utmoſt effort of their mind.

It was, therefore, a long time after this period, that poets and painters, who had inſenſibly and ſeparately brought their works to perfection, learnt to make choice of the grandeſt and moſt beautiful objects nature preſented to them: to unite them with ſome ſort of propriety, and having gained greater ſtrength to view with one glance the whole extent of their ſubject, and to form a general plan of it. It was then, that bringing the whole to one point of view, they learnt to reduce it to that unity, without which all the works of genius or of art muſt ever remain below perfection.

SPECIMENS OF FROISSART'S POETRY,

FROM LES ANNALES POETIQUES.

VIRELAI.

On dit que j'ay bien maniere
D'eſtre orguilloufete,
Bien affiert à eſtre fiere
Jeune pucelette.

Hier matin me levay
Droit à la journée
En un jardinet entray
Deſſus la rouſeé.

Je cuiday eſtre premiere
Au clos ſur l'herbette;
Mais mon doux amy y ere
Cueillant la flourette.
On dit que, &c. &c.

Un chappelet ly donnay
Fait à la veſpreé:
Il le priſt, bon gré l'en ſay,
Puis m'a appelleé:

Veuillez ouir ma priere
Très-belle et doucette;
Un petit plus qui n'affiere
Vous en eſtes durette.
On dit que, &c. &c.

IMITATED.

For my lofty looks I'm the talk of the town,
My pride and my carriage they ſay they can ſee;
But a bridled up head, and a quality frown,
Is very becoming a maid like me.

On

On yeſterday morning I left my repoſe,
As gay as a lark at the dawn of the day,
And went to the bower of the blooming roſe,
Where it flouriſhes fair in my garden gay.

O little I thought a companion to find,
Under the bower, or over the lee;
But there was my love ſo gentle and kind,
And he was preparing a wreath for me.

I gave to my love a chaplet I wove,
On the evening before by the light of the moon;
Which with joy he receiv'd, but he ſcarcely believ'd
That I had the goodneſs to grant him the boon.

'Twixt joy and deſpair he put up a prayer,
And aſk'd for my grace with a pitiful plea;
"Put an end to my pain, and your cruel diſdain,
"For 'tis hard to be borne by a lover like me."

Rondel.

Reviens, amy; trop longue eſt ta demeure:
Elle me fait avoir peine et douleur,
Mon eſprit te demande à toute heure,
Reviens, amy; trop longue eſt ta demeure.
Car il n'eſt nul, fors toi, qui me ſequeure,
Ne ſecoura, puiſques à ton retour.
Reviens, amy; trop longue eſt ta demeure:
Elle me fait avoir peine et douleur.

Return my friend, ah! why this long delay?
My poor forſaken heart is ſorrow's prey;
My fervent prayers demand you night and day;
Return my friend, ah! why this long delay?
Nought can relieve me while my love's away,
And nothing ever will till here you ſtay.
Return my friend, ah! why this long delay?
My poor forſaken heart is ſorrow's prey.

Rondel.

Rondel.

On doit le temps ainſi prendre qu'il vient:
Tout dit que pas ne dure la fortune.
Un temps ſe part, et puis l'autre revient:
On doit le temps ainſi prendre qu'il vient,
Je me comforte en ce qu'il me ſouvient
Que tous les mois avons nouvelle lune:
On doit le temps ainſi prendre qu'il vient;
Tout dit que pas ne dure la fortune.

Take time by the forelock, or give it up for ever,
Dame Fortune, my friend, is as fickle as the wind;
And hour follows hour like the current of a river,
Then meet him and ſeize him for time is bald behind.
But my comfort is this, though Fortune's a deceiver,
That the moon ſtill continues to wax and to wane,
But miſs an occaſion, you may labour in vain;
Take Time by the forelock, or he's loſt for ever.

Rondel.

De quoi que ſoit, ſe doit renouveller
Un joli cœur, le premier jour de Mai, &c.

This and one preceding it have been already quoted in the Memoires de l'Academie.

Rondel ſur un Départ.

Le corps s'en va, mais le cœur vous demeure;
Très chere dame, adieu juſqu' au retour.
Trop me ſera lointaine me demeure.
Le corps s'en va, mais le cœur vous demeure;
Très chere dame adieu, juſqu' au retour.
Mais doux penſez que j'aurai à toute heure,
Adoucira grant part de ma douleur.
Très chere dame, adieu juſqu' au retour
Le corps s'en va, mais le cœur vous demeure.

My

My body moves, my heart remains with you;
Till I return, adieu, enchanting fair;
Short as the time will be, my griefs renew,
My body goes, my heart remains with you
Till I return, adieu, enchanting fair.
But cheerful hope diſplays the welcome view,
That cheers with raptures gay my ſad deſpair.
Adieu, till I return, enchanting fair,
My limbs depart, my ſoul remains with you.

Rondel en Réponſe.

Mon doux ami, adieu juſqu' au revoir;
Qu' amour bientot devers moi vous ramaine!
Pour vous ferai loyaument mon devoir.
Mon doux ami, adieu juſqu' au revoir
Qu' amour bientot devers moi vous remaine.
Si ſouhaiter pouvoit eſtre veoir,
Vous me verriez trente fois la ſemaine:
Mais puiſqu' ainſi il n'eſt en mon pouvoir,
Mon doux ami, adieu juſqu' au revoir
Qu' amour bientot devus moi vous remaine.

The Anſwer.

Adieu my love, till I return, adieu!
Yet ſtill with me your conſtant image goes,
And keeps my heart to Cupid ever true.
Adieu my love, till I return, adieu!
Still with your lovely form my fancy glows;
Could hope your welcome preſence ſtill renew,
We'd meet at morn and noon, and evening cloſe.
But ſince our fortune bars the rapt'rous view,
Adieu my love, till I return, adieu!
For ſtill with me, your heavenly image goes.

SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

PREFACE

TO HIS

CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, &c.

THAT the honourable enterprises, noble adventures, and deeds of arms, performed in the wars between England and France, may be properly related, and held in perpetual remembrance —to the end that brave men taking example from them may be encouraged in their well-doing, I sit down to record a history deserving great praise; but, before I begin, I request of the Saviour of the world, who from nothing created all things, that he will have the goodness to inspire me with sense and sound understanding to persevere in such manner that all those who shall read may derive pleasure and instruction from my work, and that I may fall into their good graces.

It is said, and with truth, that all towns are built of many different stones, and that all large rivers are formed from many springs; so are sciences compiled by many learned persons, and what one is ignorant of is known to another: not but that every thing is known sooner or later. Now, to come to the matter in hand, I will first beg the grace of God and the benign Virgin Mary, from

whom all comfort and ſucceſs proceed; and then I will lay my foundation on the true Chronicles formerly written by that reverend, wiſe, and diſcreet man, John le Bel, canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege; who beſtowed great care and diligence on them, and continued them, as faithfully as he could, to his death, though not without much pains and expenſe: but theſe he minded not, being rich and powerful. He was alſo a man of courteous manners, generous, and a privy counſellor, well beloved by ſir John de Hainault; who is ſpoken of in theſe books, and not without reaſon, for he was the chief of many noble enterpriſes, and nearly related to ſeveral kings; and by his means the above mentioned John le Bel could ſee as through a perſpective the many gallant actions recorded in the following ſheets.

The true reaſon of my undertaking this book was for my amuſement, to which I have ever been inclined, and for which I have frequented the company of many noblemen and gentlemen, as well in France as in England and Scotland, and in other countries, from whoſe acquaintance I have always requeſted accounts of battles and adventures, eſpecially ſince the mighty battle of Poitiers, where the noble king John of France was taken priſoner; for before that time I was young in years and underſtanding: however, on quitting ſchool, I boldly undertook to write and relate the wars above mentioned—which compilation, ſuch as it was, I carried to England, and preſented to my lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, who moſt graciouſly

received it from me, to my great profit. And perhaps as this book is neither ſo exactly nor ſo well written as ſuch feats of arms require—for ſuch deeds demand that each actor who therein performs his part nobly ſhould have due praiſe—in order to acquit myſelf to all, as in juſtice is due, I have undertaken this preſent work on the ground before mentioned, at the praver and requeſt of my dear lord and maſter ſir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort, to whom I owe all love and obedience, and God give me grace to do always according to his pleaſure.

THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. I.

OF THE BRAVEST KNIGHTS OF THIS PRESENT BOOK.

TO encourage all valourous hearts, and to ſhow them honourable examples, I John Froiſſart will begin to relate, after the documents and papers of maſter John le Bel, formerly canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege, as followeth: That whereas various noble perſonages have frequently ſpoken of the wars between France and England without knowing any thing of the matter, or being able to aſſign the proper reaſons for them; I having perceived the right foundation of the matter, ſhall neither add nor omit, forget, corrupt, nor abridge my hiſtory; but the rather will enlarge it, that I may be able to point out and ſpeak of each adventure from the nativity of the noble king Edward of England, who ſo potently reigned, and who was engaged in ſo many battles and perilous adventures, and other feats of arms and great proweſs, from the year of grace 1326, when he was crowned in England.

Although he, and alſo thoſe who were with him in his battles and fortunate rencounters, or with his army when he was not there in perſon, which you ſhall hear as we go on, ought to be accounted right valiant; yet as of theſe there is a multitude, ſome ſhould be eſteemed ſupereminent. Such as the gallant king himſelf before named; the prince of Wales his ſon, the duke of Lancaſter, ſir Reginald lord Cobham, ſir Walter Manny of Hainault, knight, ſir John Chandos, ſir Fulke Harley, and many others who are recorded in this book for their worth and proweſs: for in all the battles by ſea or land, in which they were engaged, their valour was ſo diſtinguiſhed that they ſhould be eſteemed heroes of higheſt renown—but without diſparagement to thoſe with whom they ſerved. In France alſo was found good chivalry, ſtrong of limb and ſtout of heart, and in great abundance, for the kingdom of France was never brought ſo low as to want men ever ready for the combat. Such was king Philip of Valois, a bold and hardy knight, and his ſon king John; alſo John, king of Bohemia, and Charles, count of Alençon, his ſon; the count of Foix, the chevaliers de Saintré, d'Arnaud d'Angle, de Beauveau, father and ſon, and many others that I cannot at preſent name; but they ſhall all be mentioned in due time and place: for, to ſay the truth, we muſt allow ſufficient bravery and ability to all who were engaged in ſuch cruel and deſperate battles, and diſcharged their duty, by ſtanding their ground till the diſcomfiture.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OF SOME OF THE PREDECESSORS OF KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND.

THE better to underſtand the honourable and eventful hiſtory of the noble king Edward of England, who was crowned in London on Chriſtmas-day, in the year 1326, in the lifetime of the king and queen his parents, we muſt remark a common opinion of the Engliſh, of which there have been proofs ſince the time of the gallant king Arthur, that between two valiant kings of England there is always one weak in mind and body; and this is apparent in the example of the gallant king Edward of whom I now ſpeak; for true it is that his grandfather, called the good king Edward the Firſt, was brave, wiſe, very enterpriſing, and fortunate in war. He was much engaged againſt the Scots. He conquered them three or four times without their being able to gain any advantage over him.

When he died, his ſon by his firſt marriage ſucceeded to the crown, but not to the underſtanding or proweſs of his father, for he governed his kingdom very unwiſely, through the evil counſels of others, the ill conſequences of which he afterward ſuffered ſeverely, as you will ſee; for, ſoon after his coronation, Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had given ſo much and ſuch frequent trouble to king Edward above mentioned, and who well knew his valour, reconquered all Scotland, and

took beſides the good town of Berwick*. He burnt and deſtroyed great part of the country, four or five days' march within the realm, at two different times: he afterward defeated the king and all the barons of England, at a place in Scotland called Stirling †, in a pitched battle, when the purſuit laſted two days and two nights, and the king of England, accompanied with a few followers, fled to London. But, as this is no part of our matter, I ſhall here leave off.

CHAP. III.

OF THE RELATIONS OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

KING Edward the Second, father of our gallant king, had two brothers: one was the Earl Marſhal, of a wild and diſagreeable temper; the other was called Lord Edmund of Kent: he was very wiſe and affable, and much beloved.

This king had married the daughter of Philip the Fair, king of France, who was one of the greateſt beauties in the world. He had by this lady two ſons and two daughters. The elder ſon was the noble and valiant king Edward, of whom this hiſtory ſpeaks; the other was called John, and died young. The elder of the two daughters was called Iſabella, and was married to the young king, David

* Lord Berner's tranſlation ſays, that "the Scots wan againe the town of Berwick by treaſon."

† The battle of Bannockburn.

of

of Scotland, ſon of king Robert Bruce. They were affianced from their earlieſt youth, with the conſent of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, as a bond to cement the peace. The other was married to the count Reginald, ſubſequently called duke of Guelderland, who had by this lady two ſons; one named Reginald, the other Edward, who afterwards reigned with great power.

CHAP. IV.

THE OCCASION OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

HISTORY tells us, that Philip, king of France, ſurnamed the Fair, had three ſons, beſide his beautiful daughter Iſabella married to the king of England. Theſe three ſons were very handſome. The eldeſt, Lewis, king of Navarre, during the life-time of his father, was called Lewis Hutin; the ſecond was named Philip the Great, or the Long; and the third Charles. All theſe were kings of France, after their father Philip, by legitimate ſucceſſion, one after the other, without having by marriage any male heirs; yet, on the death of the laſt king, Charles, the twelve peers and barons of France did not give the kingdom to Iſabella, the ſiſter, who was queen of England, becauſe they ſaid and maintained, and ſtill do inſiſt, that the kingdom of France is ſo noble, that it ought not to go to a woman; conſequently neither to Iſabella, nor to her

her ſon the king of England; for they hold that the ſon of a woman cannot claim any right of ſucceſſion, where that woman has none herſelf. For theſe reaſons the twelve peers and barons of France unanimouſly gave the kingdom of France to the lord Philip of Valois, nephew to king Philip, and thus put aſide the queen of England, who was ſiſter to Charles, the late king of France, and her ſon. Thus, as it ſeemed to many people, the ſucceſſion went out of the right line, which has been the occaſion of the moſt deſtructive wars and devaſtations of countries, as well in France as elſewhere, as you will learn hereafter; the real object of this hiſtory being to relate the great enterpriſes and deeds of arms achieved in theſe wars, for from the time of good Charlemagne, king of France, never were ſuch feats performed.

CHAP. V.

HOW EARL THOMAS OF LANCASTER, AND TWENTY-TWO OF THE GREATEST NOBLES IN ENGLAND WERE BEHEADED.

KING Edward the Second, father to the noble king Edward the Third, of whom our Hiſtory ſpeaks, governed his kingdom very indifferently, by the advice of ſir Hugh Spencer, who had been brought up with him from his youth.

This ſir Hugh had managed matters ſo, that his father and himſelf were the great maſters of the

realm, and were ambitious to ſurpaſs all the other great barons in England; for which reaſon, after the great defeat at Stirling, the barons and nobles, and even the council of the king, murmured much, particularly againſt ſir Hugh Spencer, to whom they imputed their defeat, on account of his partiality to the king of Scotland. The barons had many meetings on this matter, to conſult what was to be done; the chief of them was Thomas earl of Lancaſter, uncle to the king. Sir Hugh ſoon found it would be neceſſary for him to check them; and he was ſo well beloved by the king, and ſo continually in his preſence, that he was ſure of gaining belief, whatever he ſaid. He ſoon took an opportunity of informing the king, that theſe lords had entered into an alliance againſt him, and that, if he did not take proper meaſures, they would drive him out of the kingdom; and thus operated ſo powerfully on the king's mind, that his malicious intentions had their full effect. The king cauſed all theſe lords to be arreſted on a certain day when they were met together, and, without delay, ordered the heads of twenty-two of the greateſt barons to be ſtruck off, without aſſigning any cauſe or reaſon. Thomas earl of Lancaſter ſuffered the firſt. He was a diſcreet and pious man; and ſince that time many miracles have been performed at his tomb in Pomfret, where he was beheaded. The hatred againſt ſir Hugh Spencer was increaſed by this deed, particularly that of the queen and of the earl of Kent, brother to the king; which when he perceived, he fomented ſuch a diſcord between the king

king and the queen, that the king would not ſee the queen or come to any place where ſhe was. This quarrel laſted ſome time; when the queen and the earl of Kent were ſecretly informed, that, if they did not ſpeedily quit the court, they would repent it, for ſir Hugh was endeavouring to ſtir up much miſchief againſt them. Then the queen, having made preparations for paſſing ſecretly to France, ſet out as if to go on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury; whence ſhe went to Winchelſea, and that night embarked on board a veſſel prepared for her reception, accompanied by her young ſon Edward, the earl of Kent, and ſir Roger Mortimer. Another veſſel was loaded with luggage, &c. and having a fair wind, they landed the next morning at Boulogne.

CHAP. VI.

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND GOES TO COMPLAIN OF SIR HUGH SPENCER TO HER BROTHER THE KING OF FRANCE.

WHEN the queen Iſabella landed at Boulogne, with her ſon and her brother-in-law the earl of Kent, the governor of the town and the abbot waited on her, and conducted her to the abbey, where ſhe and her ſuite were joyfully received and remained two days; on the third ſhe continued her route towards Paris.

King Charles, her brother, being informed of her coming, ſent ſome of the greateſt lords at that time near his perſon to meet her; among whom were ſir Robert d'Artois, the lord of Crucy, the lord of Sully, and the lord of Roy, and many others, who honourably received and conducted her to Paris, to the king her brother. When the king perceived his ſiſter (whom he had not ſeen for a long time) entering his apartment, he roſe to meet her, and taking her in his arms, kiſſed her, and ſaid, 'You are welcome, my fair ſiſter, with my fine nephew, your ſon:' then taking one in each hand, he led them in. The queen, who had no great joy in her heart, except being near her brother, would have knelt at his feet two or three times, but the king would not ſuffer it, and holding her by the right hand, inquired very affectionately into her buſineſs and affairs. Her anſwers were prudent and wiſe; and ſhe related to him all the injuries done to her by ſir Hugh Spencer, and aſked of him advice and aſſiſtance.

When the noble king Charles had heard the lamentations of his ſiſter, who with many tears had ſtated her diſtreſs, he ſaid, 'Fair ſiſter, be appeaſed —for, by the faith I owe to God and to St. Denis, I will provide a remedy.' The queen then kneeled down, in ſpite of the king, and ſaid to him, 'My dear lord and brother, I pray God may ſecond your intentions.' The king then taking her by the hand, conducted her to another apartment, which was richly furniſhed for her and her young ſon Edward; he then left her, and ordered that every thing

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ſhould be provided becoming the ſtate of her and her ſon from his treaſury.

In a ſhort time afterward Charles aſſembled many great lords and barons of his kingdom, to have their advice what was moſt proper to be done in the buſineſs of his ſiſter, the queen of England. Their advice was, that the queen ſhould be allowed to purchaſe friends and aſſiſtance in the kingdom of France, and that he ſhould appear ignorant of this enterpriſe, leſt he ſhould incur the enmity of the king of England, and bring a war upon his country —but that underhand he ſhould aſſiſt her with gold and ſilver, which are the metals wherewith the love of gentlemen and poor ſoldiers is acquired.

The king acceded to this advice, and cauſed his ſiſter to be informed of it by ſir Robert d'Artois, who was at that time one of the greateſt men in France.

CHAP. VII.

SIR HUGH SPENCER CAUSES THE QUEEN ISABELLA TO BE SENT OUT OF FRANCE.

NOW let us ſpeak a little of this ſir Hugh Spencer. —When he ſaw that he had the king of England ſo much in his power, that he objected to nothing he ſaid or did, he cauſed many noblemen and others to be put to death without law or juſtice, but merely becauſe he ſuſpected them of being ill-inclined to him. His pride was alſo become ſo

intolerable, that the barons who remained alive in England, neither could nor would ſuffer it any longer. They required and entreated that all private quarrels ſhould be made up; and ſent ſecretly to inform the queen (who had at this time remained in Paris three years), that if ſhe could collect about a thouſand men at arms, and would come at the head of them herſelf, with her ſon, into England, they would immediately treat with her, and obey him as their lawful ſovereign *.

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* John le Bel, according to what M. Lancelot ſays in one of his Memoirs reſpecting Robert d'Artois, has been much miſtaken in the object of Iſabella's journey to France and the time ſhe went thither. It related to the homage due from Edward the Second to Charles, King of France.

Charles had ſeized on parts of Guyenne; and the Spencers ſent the queen to France to make up the matter with her brother, and alſo to keep her at a diſtance, as they knew ſhe diſliked them. There is a letter in Rymer, from king Edward to pope John XXII. dated March 8th, 1324, in which he ſays he has determined to ſend the queen to France to treat with her brother This date is remarkable, becauſe Froiſſart places the journey of the queen two years earlier: for he ſays the queen of England remained at Paris three years. Now it is certain ſhe returned to England the 22d of September, 1326; ſhe muſt, therefore, have arrived in France in 1323. But Froiſſart is miſtaken;—her journey was poſterior to the expedition againſt Guyenne, which laſted from May, 1324, to the end of September in the ſame year; conſequently her reſidence in France and Hainault was only about eighteen months. The ſame hiſtorian miſtakes the object of her journey. He ſuppoſes her ſole motive for going to France was to demand protection from the

The queen ſhowed theſe private letters that ſhe had received from England to the king, her brother, who replied, 'God be your help! your affairs will proſper ſo much the better. Take of my ſubjects as many as your friends deſire; I freely give my conſent, and I will order the neceſſary ſums of money to be diſtributed among them.' The queen had already been very active, and what with entreaties, gifts, and promiſes, had gained over many great lords, young knights, and eſquires, who had engaged to carry her back to England with a great power.

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the king, her brother, againſt the Spencers; that her departure was ſecret; and that ſhe carried the young prince of Wales with her. All the documents which remain prove this to be groundleſs.

She left England by the deſire of Edward; ſhe ſucceeded in her miſſion, and a treaty was concluded the 31ſt of May, 1325. The Spencers were afraid of ſuffering Edward to pay the homage in perſon, and therefore they perſuaded him to give the duchy of Guyenne and county of Ponthieu to the prince of Wales; which was done on the 2d and 10th of September, 1325. The prince of Wales embarked at Dover the 12th of the ſame month, to pay the homage, upwards of ſix months after the paſſage of the queen his mother.

It is true, that when he arrived at the court of Charles the Fair, ſhe prevailed on him to ſtay longer than Edward and his favourites wiſhed. She exerted herſelf as much as poſſible to procure men and money, which ſhe intended to employ in forcing the king, her huſband, from the hands of the Spencers. For further particulars, which, however, do not ſeem to me very material to this part of the hiſtory, I muſt refer to the Memoir itſelf, in vol. x. des Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, &c.

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The queen made all her preparations for her expedition very ſecretly, but not ſo much ſo as to prevent its coming to the knowledge of ſir Hugh Spencer, who thought, that his moſt prudent plan would be to win over to his intereſt the king of France: for this effect he ſent over truſty and ſecret meſſengers, laden with gold, ſilver, and rich jewels. Theſe were diſtributed among the king and his miniſters with ſuch effect, that the king and his council were in a ſhort time as cold towards the cauſe of Iſabella, as they had before been warm. The king diſconcerted the expedition, and forbade any perſon, under pain of baniſhment, to aid or aſſiſt the queen in her projected return to England.

Sir Hugh alſo endeavoured to get the queen into his and the king's power, and to this effect made the king write an affectionate letter to the pope, entreating him to order the king of France to ſend him back his wife, as he was anxious to acquit himſelf towards her before God and the world; ſince it was not his fault that ſhe had left him, for he was all love and good faith towards her, ſuch as ought to be obſerved in marriage. There were ſimilar letters written at the ſame time to the cardinals, and many ſubtle means deviſed to inſure their ſucceſs, which it may not be ſo proper here to mention. He ſent alſo plenty of gold and ſilver to many cardinals and prelates, the neareſt relations of the pope, and thoſe moſt in his councils, by able and adroit meſſengers, who managed the pope in ſuch a manner, by their preſents and addreſs, that he wrote to the king of

France to ſend back Iſabella, queen of England, to her huſband, under pain of excommunication. Theſe letters were carried to the king of France by the biſhop of Xaintes, whom the pope ſent thither as his legate.

The king, on the receipt of them, cauſed his ſiſter to be acquainted with their contents (for he had held no converſation with her for a long time), and commanded her to leave the kingdom immediately, or he would make her leave it with ſhame.

CHAP. VIII.

THE QUEEN ISABELLA LEAVES FRANCE AND GOES TO GERMANY.

WHEN the queen heard this account, ſhe knew not what to ſay, or what meaſures to adopt, for the barons had already withdrawn themſelves by the king's command, and ſhe had no reſource or adviſer left but in her dear couſin Robert of Artois: and he could only adviſe and aſſiſt her in ſecret, for, as the king had forbidden it, he could not act otherwiſe. He well knew, that the queen had been driven from England through malice and ill-will, at which he was much grieved. This was ſir Robert's opinion; but he durſt not ſpeak of it to the king, for he had heard the king ſay and ſwear, that whoever ſhould ſpeak to him in her behalf ſhould forfeit his land, and be baniſhed the kingdom. He was alſo informed, that the king was

not averſe to the ſeizure of the perſons of the queen, her ſon Edward, the earl of Kent, and ſir Roger Mortimer, and to their being delivered into the hands of the king of England and ſir Hugh Spencer. He therefore came in the middle of the night, to inform the queen of the peril ſhe was in. She was thunder-ſtruck at the information—to which he added, 'I recommend you to ſet out for the Empire, where there are many noble lords who may greatly aſſiſt you, particularly William earl of Hainault, and his brother, who are both great lords, and wiſe and loyal men, and much dreaded by their enemies.'

The queen ordered her baggage to be made ready as ſecretly as ſhe could; and having paid for every thing, ſhe quitted Paris, accompanied by her ſon, the earl of Kent, and all her company, and took the road to Hainault. After ſome days ſhe came into the country of Cambray. When ſhe found ſhe was in the territories of the Empire, ſhe was more at her eaſe, paſſed through Cambreſis, entered l'Oſtrevant, in Hainault, and lodged at the houſe of a poor knight called ſir Euſtace d'Ambreticourt, who received her with great pleaſure, and entertained her in the beſt manner he could; inſomuch that afterward the queen of England and her ſon invited the knight, his wife, and all his children, to England, and advanced their fortunes in different ways *.

* His ſon was one of the firſt knights of the garter. See Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Garter.

The arrival of the queen in Hainault was ſoon known in the houſe of the good earl of Hainault, who was then at Valenciennes. Sir John, his brother, was alſo informed of the hour when ſhe alighted at the houſe of the lord of Ambreticourt. This ſir John being at that time very young, and panting for glory, like a knight errant mounted his horſe, and, accompanied by a few perſons, ſet out from Valenciennes for Ambreticourt, where he arrived in the evening, and paid the queen every reſpect and honour.

The queen was at that time very dejected, and made a very lamentable complaint to him of all her griefs; which affected ſir John ſo much, that he mixed his tears with hers, and ſaid, 'Lady, ſee here your knight, who will not fail to die for you, though every one elſe ſhould deſert you; therefore will I do every thing in my power to conduct you and your ſon, and to reſtore you to your rank in England, by the grace of God, and the aſſiſtance of your friends in thoſe parts; and I, and all thoſe whom I can influence, will riſk our lives on the adventure, for your ſake; and we will have a ſufficient armed force, if it pleaſe God, without fearing any danger from the king of France.' The queen, who was ſitting down, and ſir John ſtanding before her, roſe, and would have caſt herſelf at his feet, out of gratitude for the great favour he had juſt offered her; but the gallant ſir John, riſing up quickly, caught her in his arms, and ſaid, 'God forbid that the queen of England ſhould ever do ſuch a thing! Madam, be of good comfort to yourſelf and com-

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pany, for I will keep my promiſe—and you ſhall come and ſee my brother, and the counteſs his wife, and all their fine children, who will be rejoiced to ſee you, for I have heard them ſay ſo.' The queen anſwered, 'Sir, I find in you more kindneſs and comfort than in all the world beſides, and I give you five hundred thouſand thanks for what you have ſaid and offered me. If you will keep what you have promiſed me with ſo much courteſy, I and my ſon ſhall be for ever bound unto you, and we will put the kingdom of England under your management, as in juſtice it ought to be.

After this converſation, ſir John de Hainault took leave for the night, and went to Douay, where he ſlept at the abbey. The next day, after having heard maſs and taken ſome refreſhment, he returned to the queen, who received him with great joy. She had finiſhed her dinner, and was going to mount her horſe, when ſir John arrived. The queen of England quitted the caſtle of Ambreticourt, and, in taking leave of the knight and his lady, ſhe thanked them for their good cheer, adding, that ſhe truſted a time would come, when ſhe and her ſon would not fail to remember their courteſy.

The queen then ſet off, accompanied by ſir John, lord of Beamont, who with joy and reſpect conducted her to Valenciennes. Many of the citizens of the town came out to meet her, and received her with great humility. She was thus introduced to William earl of Hainault, who, as well as the counteſs, received her very graciouſly. Many great feaſts were given on this occaſion, as no one

knew better than the counteſs how to do the honours of her houſe. This earl William had at that time four daughters, Margaret, Philippa, Joan, and Iſabella: the young king Edward paid more court and attention to Philippa than to any of the others; the young lady alſo converſed more frequently with him, and ſought his company oftener than any of her ſiſters. The queen remained at Valenciennes during eight days with the good earl and counteſs Joan of Valois; in the mean time the queen made every preparation for her departure, and ſir John wrote very affectionate letters unto certain knights, and thoſe companions in whom he put the moſt confidence, in Hainault, Brabant, and Bohemia, beſeeching them, from all the friendſhip that was between them, that they would accompany him in this expedition to England.

There were great numbers in theſe countries who were willing to go with him from the love they bore him, and many who refuſed, notwithſtanding his requeſt; and even ſir John himſelf was much reproved by the earl his brother, and by ſome of his council, becauſe it ſeemed to them that this enterpriſe was of much hazard, on account of the great diviſions and enmities which at that time ſubſiſted among the great barons and commons in England; and alſo becauſe the Engliſh are always very jealous of ſtrangers, which made them doubt whether ſir John de Hainault and his companions would ever return. But, notwithſtanding all their blame and all their advice beſtowed upon him, the gallant knight would not change his purpoſe, ſaying,

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that he could die but once; that the time was in the will of God; and that all true knights were bound to aid, to the utmoſt of their power, all ladies and damſels driven from their kingdoms comfortleſs and forlorn.

CHAP. IX.

QUEEN ISABELLA ARRIVES IN ENGLAND WITH SIR JOHN DE HAINAULT.

THUS was ſir John de Hainault ſtrengthened and encouraged in his reſolution. He earneſtly entreated the Hainaulters to be at Halle, the Brabanters at Breda, the Hollanders (of whom he had a few) at Dordrecht, and the Bohemians at Gertruidenberg, by a fixed and limited day. The queen of England took leave of the earl and counteſs, thanking them much for the honour and entertainment they had ſhown her, and kiſſed them at her departure. The queen, her ſon, and ſuite, ſet off, accompanied by ſir John, who with great difficulty had obtained his brother's permiſſion. He ſaid to him, when he took his leave, 'My dear lord and brother, I am young, and believe that God has inſpired me with a deſire of this enterpriſe for my advancement; I alſo think and believe for certain, that this lady and her ſon have been driven from their kingdom wrongfully and ſinfully. If it is for the honour and glory of God, and of the world, to comfort the afflicted and oppreſſed, how much more ſo is it, to help and ſuccour one of

ſuch high birth, who is a daughter of a king deſcended from royal lineage, and to whoſe blood we ourſelves are related? I would have preferred renouncing every expectation I have here, and gone and ſerved my God beyond ſeas, without ever returning, rather than that this good lady ſhould have left us without comfort and aid. If you will permit me to go, and grant me a willing leave, I ſhall do well, and thereby the better accompliſh my purpoſe.'

When the good earl had heard his brother, and perceived the great deſire he had for this enterpriſe, and that poſſibly it might turn out not only to his own honour, but to that of his deſcendants; he ſaid to him, 'Dear brother, God forbid that there ſhould be any hindrance to your wiſh: therefore I give you leave in the name of God!' He then kiſſed him, and ſqueezed his hand, in ſign of great affection.

Sir John ſet out, and went that night to Mons, in Hainault, where he ſlept, as did the queen of England.—Why ſhould I lengthen my ſtory?—They travelled in ſuch a manner as to arrive at Dordrecht by the time limited for their friends to meet them. At that place they provided themſelves with veſſels of different ſizes, and having embarked their cavalry, baggage, &c. they ſat ſail, having firſt recommended themſelves to the care of the Lord. In this expedition there were the following knights and lords of Hainault: firſt, ſir John de Hainault, lord of Beaumont, ſir Henry d'Antoing, ſir Michael de Ligne, the lord of Gommegnic,

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ſir Percival de Semeries, ſir Robert de Bailleuil, ſir Sanxen de Bouiſſoit, the lords of Vertaing, de Pocelles, de Villers, de Hein, de Sars, de Boiſiers, d'Ambreticourt, de Sermuel, ſir Oulphart de Guiſtelle, and many other knights and eſquires, all eager to ſerve their maſter. When they left the harbour of Dordrecht, the fleet, conſidering its force, made a beautiful appearance, from its good order, and from the weather being clear and temperate. They came oppoſite to the dykes of Holland the firſt tide after their departure. The next day they caſt anchor and furled their ſails, intending to follow the coaſt of Zealand, and to land at a port which they had deſcried; but they were prevented by a violent tempeſt, which drove them ſo far out of their courſe, that for two days they knew not where they were. In this God was very merciful to them; for, had they landed at the port they intended, they would have fallen into the hands of their enemies, who, appriſed of their coming, waited for them at that place to put them to death. At the end of two days the ſtorm abated, and the ſailors deſcrying England, made for it with great joy, and landed upon the ſands, having neither harbour nor ſafe port. They remained there three days at a ſhort allowance of proviſions, whilſt they diſembarked their cavalry, and landed their baggage. They were ignorant in what part of England they were, and whether that part of the country was friendly to them or not. The fourth day they began their march, putting themſelves under the protection of God and St. George, having

having ſuffered much from cold and hunger in addition to their late fears, of which they had not yet diveſted themſelves. They marched over hill and dale until they came to ſome villages; ſoon afterwards they ſaw a large monaſtery of black friars, called St. Hamons, where they refreſhed themſelves during three days *.

CHAP. X.

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND BESEIGES HER HUSBAND IN THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

THE news of her arrival being ſpread abroad, ſoon came to the knowledge of thoſe lords by whoſe advice ſhe had returned: they got themſelves ready as ſoon as poſſible to join her ſon, whom they wiſhed to have for their ſovereign. The firſt who came was Henry earl of Lancaſter, ſirnamed Wryneck, brother to the earl Thomas, who had been beheaded, and father of the duke of Lancaſter, who makes ſo conſpicuous a figure in the following hiſtory. This earl Henry was attended by a great number of men at arms. After him came, from different parts, earls, barons, knights, and eſquires, and with ſuch an armed force, that

* P. Vir. ſays that this company landed in the county of Suffolk, and mentions a village called Orwel, in which they refreſhed themſelves. The Chronicle of Flanders calls it Norwell, and adds, that it is a ſea-port. Annotations from Denis Sauvage's Edition.

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they no longer thought they had any thing to apprehend. As they advanced, their forces were ſtill increaſed; ſo that a council was called to conſider if they ſhould not march directly to Briſtol, where the king and the two Spencers then were.

Briſtol was at that time a large town, well incloſed, and ſituated on a good port. Its caſtle was very ſtrong, and ſurrounded by the ſea. The king and ſir Hugh Spencer the elder, who was about ninety years of age, and ſir Hugh Spencer, his ſon, the chief governor of the king, and adviſer of all his evil deeds, ſhut themſelves up in it. The earl of Arundel, who had married the daughter of the younger Spencer, was alſo there, as well as divers knights and eſquires, attending the king's court.

The queen, with all her company, the lords of Hainault, and their ſuite, took the ſhorteſt road for that place; and in every town through which they paſſed were entertained with every mark of diſtinction. Their forces were augmenting daily until they arrived at Briſtol, which they beſieged in form. The king and the younger Spencer ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle; old ſir Hugh and the earl of Arundel remained in the town.

When the citizens ſaw the queen's force, and the affections of almoſt all England on her ſide, alarmed at their own perilous ſituation, they determined in council to ſurrender the town, on condition that their lives and property ſhould be ſpared. They ſent to treat with the queen on this ſubject; but

but neither ſhe nor her council would conſent to it, unleſs ſir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel were delivered up to her diſcretion, for ſhe had come purpoſely to deſtroy them.

The citizens ſeeing they had no other means of ſaving the town, their lives, and their fortunes, acceded to the queen's terms, and opened their gates to her. She entered the town, accompanied by ſir John de Hainault, with all her barons, knights, and eſquires, who took their lodging therein; the others, for want of accommodation, remained without. Sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel were delivered to the queen to do with them as it ſhould pleaſe her. Her children were alſo brought to her—John and her two daughters, found there in the keeping of ſir Hugh Spencer. As ſhe had not ſeen them a long time, this gave her great joy, as well as to all her party.

The king and the younger Spencer, ſhut up in the caſtle, were much grieved at what paſſed, ſeeing the whole country turned to the queen's party, and to Edward, his eldeſt ſon.

CHAP. XI.

SIR HUGH SPENCER THE ELDER AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL ARE ADJUDGED TO DEATH.

AS ſoon as the queen and the barons were lodged at their eaſe, they made their approaches to the caſtle as near as they could. The queen then ordered

ordered ſir Hugh Spencer the elder and the earl of Arundel to be brought before her eldeſt ſon, and the barons aſſembled, and ſaid to them, that ſhe and her ſon would ſee that law and juſtice ſhould be done unto them according to their deeds. Sir Hugh replied, 'Ah! madam, God grant us an upright judge and a juſt ſentence; and that if we cannot have it in this world, we may find it in another!' Then roſe up ſir Thomas Wager, a good knight, wiſe and courteous, and marſhal of the army: he read, from a paper in his hand, the charges againſt them, and then addreſſed himſelf to an old knight, ſeated on his right hand, to decide the puniſhment due to perſons guilty of ſuch crimes. This knight conſulted with the other barons and knights, and reported it as their opinion, that they deſerved death for the many horrible crimes with which they had been charged, and which they believed to be clearly proved; that they ought, from the diverſity of their crimes, to ſuffer in three different manners: firſt, to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, and afterwards to be hung on a gibbet. Agreeably to this ſentence they were executed, before the caſtle of Briſtol, in the ſight of the king, ſir Hugh Spencer, and all thoſe within it. This execution took place in October, on St. Denis's day, 1326.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR HUGH SPENCER ARE TAKEN AT SEA AS THEY WERE ENDEAVOURING TO ESCAPE FROM THE CASTLE OF BRISTOL.

THIS act of juſtice performed, the king and ſir Hugh Spencer, ſeeing themſelves ſo cloſely preſſed, and being ignorant whether any ſuccour was coming to them, embarked one morning with a few followers, in a ſmall boat behind the caſtle, intending, if poſſible, to reach the principality of Wales: they were eleven or twelve days in this ſmall boat, and notwithſtanding every effort to get forward, the winds proved ſo contrary, by the will of God, that once or twice a day they were driven back within a quarter of a league of the caſtle whence they ſet out. At length ſir Henry Beaumont, ſon of the viſcount Beaumont of England, eſpying the veſſel, embarked with ſome of his companions in a barge, and rowed ſo vigorouſly after it, that the king's boatmen, unable to eſcape, were overtaken. The king and ſir Hugh Spencer were brought back to Briſtol, and delivered to the queen and her ſon as priſoners. Thus ended this bold and gallant enterpriſe of ſir John de Hainault and his companions, who, when they embarked at Dordrecht, amounted to no more than three hundred men at arms. By their means queen Iſabella recovered her kingdom, and deſtroyed her enemies, at which the whole nation, except ſome

few

few who were attached to the Spencers, was greatly rejoiced.

When the king and ſir Hugh Spencer were brought to Briſtol by ſir Henry Beaumont, the king was ſent, by the advice of the barons and knights, to Berkeley caſtle, under a ſtrong guard. Many attentions were paid to him, and proper people were placed near his perſon, to take every care of him, but on no account to ſuffer him to paſs the bounds of the caſtle. Sir Hugh Spencer was delivered up to ſir Thomas Wager, marſhal of the army.

The queen and all the army ſet out for London, which is the principal city in England. Sir Thomas Wager cauſed ſir Hugh Spencer to be faſtened on the pooreſt and ſmalleſt horſe he could find, clothed with a tabart, ſuch as he was accuſtomed to wear. He led him thus in deriſion, in the ſuite of the queen, through all the towns they paſſed, where he was announced by trumpets and cymbals, by way of greater mockery, till they reached Hereford, where ſhe and her ſuite were reſpectfully and joyfully received. The feaſt of All Saints was there celebrated with the greateſt ſolemnity and magnificence, out of affection to her ſon, and reſpect to the noble foreigners that attended him.

CHAP. XIII.

SIR HUGH SPENCER JUDGED AND EXECUTED.

WHEN the feaſt was over, ſir Hugh, who was not beloved in thoſe parts, was brought before the queen and knights aſſembled; the

charges were read to him—to which he made no reply; the barons and knights then paſſed the following ſentence on him: firſt, that he ſhould be drawn on a hurdle, attended by trumpets and clarions, through all the ſtreets in the city of Hereford, and then conducted to the market-place, where all the people were aſſembled; at that place he was to be bound upon a high ſcaffold, in order that he might be more eaſily ſeen by the people. Firſt, his private parts were cut off, becauſe he was deemed a heretic, and guilty of unnatural practices, even with the king, whoſe affections he had alienated from the queen by his wicked ſuggeſtions. His private parts were then caſt into a large fire kindled cloſe to him; afterwards, his heart was thrown into the ſame fire, becauſe it had been falſe and traitorous, ſince he had by his treaſonable counſels ſo adviſed the king, as to bring ſhame and miſchief on the land, and had cauſed ſome of the greateſt lords to be beheaded, by whom the kingdom ought to have been ſupported and defended; and had ſo ſeduced the king, that he could not, nor would not ſee the queen, or his eldeſt ſon, who was to be their future ſovereign, both of whom had, to preſerve their lives, been forced to quit the kingdom. The other parts of ſir Hugh thus diſpoſed of, his head was cut off and ſent to London.

After the execution, the queen and all the lords, with a great number of common people, ſet out for London. As they approached it, great crowds came out to meet them, and received both her and her ſon, as well as thoſe who accompanied her, with

with great reverence. The citizens preſented handſome gifts to the queen, as well as thoſe of her ſuite, where they thought them beſt beſtowed. After fifteen days paſſed in feaſts and rejoicings, the companions of ſir John de Hainault were impatient to return home, for they thought they had well performed their duty, and acquired great honour. They took leave of the queen and of the nobles of the country, who beſought them to tarry a little longer, to conſider what ought to be done with the king, then a priſoner; but they had ſo great a deſire to return home, that entreaties were of no avail. When the queen and her council ſaw this, they addreſſed themſelves to ſir John de Hainault, and requeſted him to remain only till after Chriſtmas, and that he would detain as many of his followers as poſſible. That gallant knight, wiſhing to leave nothing undone that depended on him, courteouſly complied with the queen's requeſt. He detained as many of his companions as he could; but ſmall was the number, the greater part refuſing to ſtay on any account, which angered him much.

Though the queen and her council ſaw that no entreaties could prevail on his companions to ſtay, they ſhewed them every mark of reſpect. The queen ordered a large ſum of money to be given them for their expences, beſides jewels of high price, which ſhe preſented to each according to his rank; ſo that all were perfectly ſatisfied. She alſo paid to each, in ready money, the value of their

horſes that they choſe to leave behind, according to their own eſtimation, without any demur.

Sir John and a few of his companions remained in England, according to the queen's deſire, and the Engliſh paid to him and his companions all the reſpect in their power.

There was at that time a great number of counteſſes and other noble ladies and damſels attendant on the queen, as well as others who came there daily, who were not behind hand in their attentions to ſir John, thinking the gallant knight very deſerving of them.

CHAP. XIV.

THE CORONATION OF KING EDWARD III.

MOST of the followers of ſir John de Hainault having returned home, the lord of Beaumont however remaining, the queen gave leave to many of her houſehold, as well as others, to return to their country ſeats, except a few of the nobles, whom ſhe kept with her as her council, expreſsly ordering them to come back at Chriſtmas to a great court, which at that time ſhe intended to hold. They took leave, promiſing to be there at the time appointed, as well as many others who had notice of the feaſt. When Chriſtmas came, ſhe held the court above mentioned, and it was very fully attended by all the nobles and prelates of the realm, as well as by the principal officers of the chief

cities and towns. In this aſſembly it was determined, that the kingdom could no longer remain without a ſovereign, and that all the acts of the king, then in priſon, proceeding from his own will, or the evil counſel of others, and ill government of the realm, ſhould be ſtated in writing, and read aloud to all the nobles and ſages of the country, in order that they might take advice, and reſolve how, and by whom, the country in future ſhould be governed: and when all the acts done by the king, or having his conſent, as well as his conduct in private life, had been read, the chiefs of the aſſembly conſulted together, and agreeing, from their own knowledge, that the greater part of what they had juſt heard read was true, that ſuch a man was not worthy to be a king, neither to bear a crown, nor the title of king, they unanimouſly reſolved, that his elder ſon and true heir, then preſent, ſhould be crowned inſtead of the father; and that he ſhould take good and loyal counſel, that the kingdom might be henceforward better governed. They ordered that his father ſhould be kept a priſoner, having every attention paid to his rank, as long as he ſhould live. All was done, as agreed to by the chief nobles of the country and the principal officers of the great towns.

The young king Edward, ſince ſo fortunate in arms, was crowned with a royal diadem, in the palace of Weſtminſter, on Chriſtmas-day, 1326. He completed his ſixteenth year on the feaſt of the converſion of St. Paul following.

At this coronation, ſir John de Hainault, and all his companions, noble or otherwiſe, were much feaſted, and many rich jewels were given to him and thoſe that ſtaid with him. He and his friends remained during theſe grand feaſts, to the great ſatisfaction of the lords and ladies that were there, until Twelfth-day, when he received information that the king of Bohemia, the earl of Hainault his brother, and many great lords of France, had ordered a tournament to be proclaimed at Condé: ſir John, therefore, would no longer ſtay, notwithſtanding their entreaties, from the great deſire he had to attend this tournament, to ſee his brother and the other princes, eſpecially that gallant and generous prince, Charles, king of Bohemia.

When the young king Edward, his mother, and the barons, ſaw that it was not poſſible to detain him any longer, they gave him permiſſion to depart very much againſt their will. The king, by the advice of the queen, granted him an annuity of four hundred marks ſterling, hereditable rent, to be held of him in fee, payable in the city of Bruges. He gave alſo to Philip de Chateaux, his principal eſquire and chief counſellor, a hundred marks ſterling of rent, to be paid at the ſame time and place. He likewiſe gave a conſiderable ſum to defray his expences, and thoſe of his attendants, on their return home, He ordered many knights to accompany him to Dover, and that his paſſage ſhould be free of all coſt, He preſented the counteſs de Garennes, ſiſter to the count de Bar, and

for

ſome other ladies who had accompanied the queen to England, with many rich jewels, on their taking leave.

Sir John and his company immediately embarked on board the veſſels prepared for them, to be in time for the tournament. The king ſent with him fifteen young and hardy knights, to attend him at this tournament, there to try their ſkill, and to get acquainted with the lords and knights that were to be there. Sir John and his company paid them all the attention in their power, and on this occaſion tournayed at Condé.

CHAP. XV.

ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, DEFIES KING EDWARD.

AFTER the departure of ſir John de Hainault, king Edward and his mother governed the kingdom, by the counſels of the good earl of Kent, and of ſir Roger Mortimer, who poſſeſſed vaſt eſtates in England, to the amount of 7001. ſterling a-year. Both of them had been baniſhed with the queen. They alſo took the advice of ſir Thomas Wager, and of others, who were eſteemed the wiſeſt in the land. This, however, created much envy, which never dies in England, but reigns there as well as in other places. Thus paſſed the winter and Lent in perfect peace until Eaſter; when it happened that Robert king of Scotland, who,

though brave, had ſuffered much in his wars with England, having often been defeated by king Edward, grandfather of the young king, being at this time very old, and afflicted with leproſy, hearing that the king had been taken priſoner and depoſed, and his counſellors put to death, thought it a favourable opportunity to ſend a defiance to the preſent king, as yet a youth, whoſe barons were not on good terms with each other, and to attempt the conqueſt of ſome part of England. About Eaſter, 1327, he ſent a defiance to king Edward and all the country, informing them that he would enter the kingdom, and burn it as far as he had done before after the defeat of Stirling, in which the Engliſh ſuffered ſo much.

When the young king and his council received this challenge, they publiſhed it throughout the kingdom, and ordered that all the nobles and others ſhould come properly accoutred and accompanied, according to their different ranks, to York, the day of Aſcenſion following. He alſo ſent a conſiderable body of men at arms to guard the frontiers of Scotland, and meſſengers to ſir John de Hainault, begging him very affectionately to aſſiſt and accompany him in this expedition, and to meet him at York on Aſcenſion day, with as many companions at arms as he could bring with him.

When the lord of Beaumont received this requeſt, he diſpatched letters and meſſengers into Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, or wherever he thought he could

could collect good companions, praying them to meet him, well equipped, at Wiſſan*, there to embark for England. Such as he ſent to came, as well as others that had heard of it, in the expectation of gaining as large ſums as thoſe who had accompanied him in his former expedition to England.

When the lord of Beaumont came to Wiſſan, he found veſſels ready to tranſport him and his company. They embarked with their cavalry as expeditiouſly as poſſible, and croſſed over to Dover, whence, without halting, they continued their march till they reached York. The king, his mother, and a number of other lords and barons were there aſſembled, as well to adviſe as to attend the king. They waited at York the arrival of ſir John, of the men at arms and archers, and of the common people from the different towns and cities. As they came in large bodies, they were quartered in the villages around York, at the diſtance of two or three leagues, and thence marched towards the borders.

Sir John and his company reached York by the appointed time, and were welcome and magnificently entertained by the king, queen, and all the barons. The handſomeſt ſuburbs of the city were aſſigned them for their quarters, and a monaſtery

* Wiſſan is a town in the Boulonois, generality of Calais. It is believed by Camden to be the *Portus Iccius* from which Cæſar embarked for Britain. This is diſcuſſed in one of the diſſertations at the cloſe of the Mémoires de Joinville.—Fifth volume of the Collection of Hiſtorical Memoirs relative to the Hiſtory of France.

of white friars was allotted for him and his houſe-hold. In company with the knight, came from Hainault, the lord of Anghien called ſir Walter, ſir Henry lord of Antoing, the lord of Seignoles, and the following knights: ſir Faſtres de Reu, ſir Robert de Bailleul, ſir William de Bailleul, his brother, the lord of Havereth caſtellan of Mons, ſir Alart de Briſeil, ſir Michael de Ligne, ſir John de Montigny the younger and his brother, ſir Sauſe de Bouſſac, ſir Percival de Severies, the lords of Gommegines, de Biaurien and de Folion. There came alſo from Flanders; firſt, ſir Hector de Vilains, ſir John de Rhodes, ſir Vaufflat de Guiſtelle, ſir James de Guiſtelle his brother, ſir Goſſuin de la Muelle and the lord of Tarces. Many came from Brabant; as the lord of Duſle, ſir Thierry de Vaucourt, ſir Raſſes de Gres, ſir John de Caſſebegne, ſir John Pileſtre, ſir William de Courterelles, the three brothers de Harlebeque, ſir Walter de Hautebergue, and ſeveral others. Of the Bohemians were, ſir John de Libeaux, Henry his brother, ſir Henry de la Chappelle, ſir Hugh de Hay, ſir John de Limies, ſir Lambert des Prez, ſir Gilbert de Hers. There came alſo other volunteer knights out of Cambreſis and Artois, in hopes of advancement; ſo that ſir John had five hundred good men in his company, well apparelled and richly mounted.

After the feaſt of the Pentecoſt, ſir William, who was afterwards duke of Juliers, by the death of his father, and ſir Thierry de Hamberque, ſince earl of Los, arrived with a gallant company, to do honour to ſir John de Hainault.

CHAP. XVI.

A DISSENSION BETWEEN THE ARCHERS OF ENGLAND AND THE HAINAULTERS.

THE king of England, in order to entertain and feaſt the ſtrangers and their company, held a great court on Trinity-Sunday, at the houſe of the Black Friars, where he and the queen were lodged, and where each kept their houſehold ſeparate; the king with his knights, and the queen with her ladies, whoſe numbers were conſiderable. At this court the king had five hundred knights, and created fifteen new ones. The queen gave her entertainment in the dormitory, where at leaſt ſixty ladies, whom ſhe had invited to entertain ſir John de Hainault and his ſuite, ſat down at her table. There might be ſeen a numerous nobility well ſerved with plenty of ſtrange diſhes, ſo diſguiſed that it could not be known what they were. There were alſo ladies moſt ſuperbly dreſſed, who were expecting with impatience the hour of the ball, or a longer continuance of the feaſt: but it fell out otherwiſe; for, ſoon after dinner, a violent affray happened between ſome of the grooms of the Hainaulters, and the Engliſh archers, who were lodged with them in the ſuburbs. This increaſed ſo much that the archers collected together, with their bows ſtrung, and ſhot at them ſo as to force them to retreat to their lodgings. The greater part of the knights and their maſters, who were ſtill at court, hearing of the affray, haſtened to their quar-

quarters. Thoſe that could not enter them were expoſed to great danger; for the archers, to the number of three thouſand, aimed both at maſters and ſervants. It was ſuppoſed that this affray was occaſioned by the friends of the Spencers, and the earl of Arundel, in revenge for their having been put to death through the advice of ſir John de Hainault. The Engliſh alſo, at whoſe houſes the Hainaulters lodged, barricaded their doors and windows, and would not ſuffer them to enter: nevertheleſs, ſome of them got admittance at the back doors, and quickly armed themſelves, but durſt not advance into the ſtreet, for fear of the arrows. The ſtrangers immediately ſallied from behind their lodgings, breaking down the hedges and incloſures, until they came to a ſquare, where they halted, waiting for their companions, till they amounted to a hundred under arms, and as many without, who could not gain admittance to their lodgings. United thus, they haſtened to aſſiſt their friends, who were defending their quarters in the great ſtreet in the beſt manner they could: they paſſed through the hôtel of the lord of Anghien, which had great gates before and behind open into the ſtreet, where the archers were dealing about their arrows in a furious manner. Many Hainaulters were wounded with them *.

Here

* In Leland's Collectanea, there is a different account of the cauſe of this affray. Part ſecond of volume firſt, p 307.

' Anno Domini 1328, Hunaldi apud Eboracum combuſſerunt de ſuburbio civitatis fere unam parochiam, quæ

Here were found the good knights, ſir Faſtres de Rue ſir Percival de Severies and ſir Sauſe de Bouſſac, who, not getting admittance into their lodgings, performed deeds equal to thoſe that were armed. They had in their hands great oaken ſtaffs, taken from the houſe of a carter: they dealt their blows ſo ſucceſsfully that none durſt approach them, and, being ſtrong and valiant knights, beat down, that evening, upwards of ſixty men. At laſt the archers were diſcomfited and put to flight. There remained on the ground dead three hundred men, or thereabouts, who were all from the biſhoprick of Lincoln. I believe that God never ſhowed greater grace or favor to any one than he did in that day to ſir John de Hainault and his company; for theſe archers certainly meant nothing leſs than to murder and rob them, notwithſtanding they were come upon the king's buſineſs. Theſe ſtrangers were never in ſuch great peril as during the time they remained at York: nor were they in perfect ſafety until their return to Wiſſan; for, during their ſtay, the hatred of the archers was ſo

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vocatur S. Nicholai in Ouſegate, propter contumeliam motam inter burgenſes et illos, quia ceperunt uxores burgenſium, et filias, et ancillas, per vim in ſuburbio civitatis. Burgenſes vero ſuburbii indignati de tali facinore congreſſi ſunt cum Hunaldis more bellico: et ex utraque parte bene armati una die Martis *in Septembri* ante ſolis ortum in Watelingate dormiente tota civitate ſummo mane. Ibi ceciderunt de Hunaldis 527, præter eos qui lætaliter vulnerati ſunt et obierunt in 3 die et in 4 ſequenti. De Anglis ceciderunt 242. Submerſi in Owſe flu. de Hunaldis inventi ſunt 136.

greatly

greatly increaſed againſt them, that ſome of the barons and principal knights informed the lords of Hainault, that the archers and others of the commonalty of England, to the number of ſix thouſand, had entered into an agreement to maſſacre and burn them and their followers in their lodgings either by night or day, and there was no one on the part of the king, or of the barons, that could venture to aſſiſt them. The Hainaulters, therefore, had no other reſource left than to ſtand by each other, and to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible. They made many prudent regulations for their conduct, were frequently obliged to lie on their arms, to confine themſelves to their quarters, and to have their armour ready, and their horſes always ſaddled. They were alſo obliged to keep detachments continually on the watch in the fields and roads round the city, and to ſend ſcouts to the diſtance of half a league, to ſee if thoſe people, of whom they had received information, were coming, with orders, that, if they perceived any bodies in motion advancing towards the town, they were immediately to return to the detachments in the fields, in order that they might be quickly mounted, and collected together under their own banner, at an appointed alarm-poſt. They continued in the ſuburbs four weeks in this diſtreſſing ſituation, and none, except a few of the great lords, who went to court to ſee the king and his council, or to the entertainments to hear the news, ventured to quit their quarters or their arms. If this unfortunate quarrel had not happened, they would have paſſed their time very

pleaſantly; for there was ſuch plenty in the city and ſurrounding country, that during more than ſix weeks, while the king and the lords of England, with upwards of forty thouſand men at arms, remained there, the proviſions were not dearer; for as much was to be bought for a penny as before their arrival. Good wines from Gaſcony, Alſace and the Rhine, were in abundance and reaſonable; poultry and other ſuch proviſions at a low price. Hay, oats and ſtraw, of a good quality, and cheap, were delivered at their quarters.

CHAP. XVII.

OF THE MANNERS OF THE SCOTS, AND HOW THEY CARRY ON WAR.

AFTER remaining three weeks from the time of this affray, the king iſſued a proclamation by his marſhals, that every one in the courſe of the enſuing week, ſhould be provided with carts, tents, and every thing neceſſary for their march towards Scotland: When every one was properly equipped, the king and all his barons marched out of the city, and encamped ſix leagues from it. Sir John de Hainault and his company were encamped near the king, as a mark of diſtinction, and to prevent the archers from taking any advantage of him. The king and this firſt diviſion remained there two days and two nights, waiting the arrival of money for his expenſes, as well as to examine whether any thing were wanting. On the third day the army

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diſlodged, and before day-break marched till they came to the city of Durham, a long day's journey, at the entrance of a country called Northumberland, which is wild, full of deſerts and mountains, and poor in every thing except cattle. The river Tyne runs through it, full of flints and large ſtones. Upon this river is ſituated the town called Newcaſtle upon Tyne. The lord marſhal of England was there, with a numerous army to guard the country againſt the Scots. At Carliſle was a conſiderable body of Welſh, under the command of lord Hereford and lord Mowbray, to defend the paſſage of the Eden; for the Scots could not enter England without paſſing one of theſe rivers. The Engliſh could get no certain information of the Scots until they arrived at this place: they had paſſed the river ſo privately, that neither thoſe of Carliſle nor thoſe of Newcaſtle had the ſmalleſt knowledge of it. Theſe towns are ſaid to be diſtant from each other four-and-twenty Engliſh leagues.

The Scots are bold, hardy, and much inured to war. When they make their invaſions into England, they march from twenty to four-and-twenty leagues without halting, as well by night as day; for they are all on horſeback, except the camp followers, who are on foot. The knights and eſquires are well mounted on large bay horſes, the common people on little galloways. They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to paſs in Northumberland; neither do they carry with them any proviſions of bread or wine; for their habits of ſobriety are ſuch, in time of war,

that they will live for a long time on fleſh half ſodden, without bread, and drink the river-water without wine. They have, therefore, no occaſion for pots or pans; for they dreſs the fleſh of their cattle in the ſkins, after they have taken them off: and, being ſure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his ſaddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal; behind the ſaddle, a little bag of oatmeal: when they have eaten too much of the ſodden fleſh, and their ſtomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paſte upon it, and make a thin cake, like a cracknell or biſcuit, which they eat to warm their ſtomachs: it is therefore no wonder, that they perform a longer day's march than other ſoldiers. In this manner the Scots entered England, deſtroying and burning every thing as they paſſed. They ſeized more cattle than they knew what to do with. Their army conſiſted of four thouſand men at arms, knights and eſquires, well mounted; beſides twenty thouſand men, bold and hardy, armed after the manner of their country, and mounted upon little hackneys, that are never tied up or dreſſed, but turned, immediately after the day's march, to paſture on the heath or in the fields. This army was commanded by two valiant captains. The king of Scotland himſelf, who had been very brave, yet being old, and labouring under a leproſy, appointed for one that gallant prince, ſo renowned in arms, the earl of Moray, who bore upon his banner argent three pillows gules; the other was ſir James

James Douglas, eſteemed the braveſt and moſt enterpriſing knight in the two kingdoms: he bore for arms argent on a chef argent. Theſe two lords were the greateſt barons, and moſt renowned for their proweſs and other feats of arms.

CHAP. XVIII.

KING EDWARD'S FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCOTS.

WHEN the Engliſh king and all his hoſt had ſeen the ſmoke of the fires, which the Scots had made, the alarm was immediately ſounded, and every one ordered to diſlodge and to follow his banners: they all, therefore, withdrew to the fields, armed for immediate combat. Three battalions of infantry were formed; each battalion having two wings, compoſed of five hundred men at arms, who were to remain on horſeback.

It was ſaid, that there were eight thouſand men at arms, knights and eſquires, and thirty thouſand men armed and equipped, half of whom were mounted on ſmall hackneys; the other half were countrymen on foot, ſent by the towns and paid by them. There were alſo twenty-four thouſand archers on foot, beſide all the crew of followers of the army. Thus being drawn up, they marched in battle-array after the Scots, towards the place from whence the ſmoke came, until it was night. The army halted in a wood, by the ſide of a ſmall river, to reſt themſelves, and to wait for their baggage and proviſion.

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The Scots had burnt and pillaged all the country within five leagues of the place where they were, without the Engliſh being able to come up with them.

At day-break the next morning every one was armed, and, with banners diſplayed, marched in good order over mountains, and through valleys, but could never approach the Scots, who were advanced before them; for there were ſo many marſhes and dangerous places, that it was ordered, under pain of death, that no one ſhould quit his banner, except the marſhals. When it drew towards night, the cavalry, and thoſe who attended the baggage, more eſpecially the infantry, were ſo fatigued, that they could march no further.

The lords ſaw that they followed the Scots to no purpoſe; and that, if the Scots were willing to wait for them, they might poſt themſelves on ſome mountain, or in ſome dangerous paſs, where they could not be attacked but at extreme diſadvantage.

The king then ordered the marſhals to encamp the army there for the night, in order that they might conſider what was to be done the next day. The army lay in a wood upon the banks of a ſmall river, and the king was lodged in a poor monaſtery hard by. The men at arms, horſes and baggage, were much fatigued. When each had choſen a ſpot of ground to encamp himſelf on, the lords retired apart, to conſider what would be the beſt method to force the Scots to battle, conſidering the ſituation of the country in which they were. It appeared to them, that the Scots were ſheering off to their own

country, burning and pillaging as they went, and that it would be impoſſible to fight with them in theſe mountains, without a manifeſt diſadvantage, ſuppoſing they ſhould overtake them, which they could not; but, as they muſt repaſs the Tyne, it was determined in full council, that if they were to get themſelves ready about midnight, and haſten their march next day, they might cut off the paſſage of the river, and force them to fight to a diſadvantage, or remain ſhut up priſoners in England.

After this reſolution had been entered into, each retired to his quarters, to eat and drink what he could find there; and they deſired their companions to be ſilent, in order that the trumpets might be heard: at the firſt ſounding of which, the horſes were to be ſaddled and made ready; at the ſecond, every one was to arm himſelf without delay; and, at the third, to mount their horſes immediately, and join their banners. Each was to take only one loaf of bread with him, ſlung behind him after the manner of hunters. All unneceſſary arms, harneſs and baggage, were ordered to be left behind, as they thought they ſhould for a certainty give battle the next day, whatever might be the conſequences, whether they ſhould win or loſe all. As it had been ordered ſo was it executed, and all were mounted and ready about midnight. Some had but little reſt, notwithſtanding they had laboured hard the day before. Day began to appear as the battalions were aſſembled at their different poſts: the banner-bearers then haſtened on over heaths, mountains, valleys, rocks, and many dangerous

places, without meeting any level country. On the ſummits of the mountains, and in the valleys, were large marſhes and bogs, and of ſuch extent, that it was a miracle many were not loſt in them; for each gallopped forwards without waiting for either commander or companion: thoſe who fell into them found difficulty in getting any to help them. Many banners remained there, and ſeveral baggage and ſumpter horſes never came out again.

In the courſe of the day, there were frequent cries of alarm, as if the foremoſt ranks were engaged with the enemy; which thoſe behind believing to be true, they hurried forward as faſt as poſſible over rocks and mountains, ſword in hand, with their helmets and ſhields prepared for fighting, without waiting for father, brother, or friend.

When they had haſtened about half a league towards the place from which the noiſe came, they found themſelves diſappointed, as the cries proceeded from ſome herds of deer or other wild beaſts, which abounded in theſe heaths and deſert places, and which fled before the banners, purſued by the ſhouts of the army, which made them imagine it was ſomething elſe.

In this manner, the young king of England, agreeably to the advice of his council, rode all that day over mountains and deſerts, without keeping to any fixed road, or finding any town.

About veſpers, and ſorely fatigued, they reached the Tyne, which the Scots had already croſſed, though the Engliſh ſuppoſed they had it ſtill to repaſs. Accordingly, they went over the ford, but

with great difficulty, owing to the large ſtones that were in the river.

When they had paſſed over, each took up his lodging on its banks as he could; and at this time the ſun was ſet. There were few among them that had any hatchets, wedges, or other inſtruments, to cut down trees, to make themſelves huts; many of them had loſt their companions, and even the foot had remained behind, not knowing what road to aſk for. Thoſe who were beſt acquainted with the country ſaid, that they had travelled that day twenty Engliſh leagues on a gallop, without ſtopping, except to arrange the furniture of their horſes, when it had been looſened by the violent exerciſe. They were forced to lie this night on the banks of the river in their armour, and at the ſame time hold their horſes by their bridles, for there was not any place where they could tie them. Thus the horſes had nothing to eat, neither oats nor any forage; and the men had only their loaf that was tied behind them, which was wetted by the ſweat of the horſes. They had no other beverage but the water of the river, except ſome great lords, who had bottles among their baggage: nor had they fire or light, not having any thing to make them of, except ſome few lords, who had ſome torches, which they had brought on ſumpter horſes. In ſuch a melancholy manner did they paſs the night, without taking the ſaddles from off the horſes, or diſarming themſelves. And when the long expected day appeared, when they hoped to find ſome comfort for themſelves and horſes, or to fight the Scots, which they

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very much wiſhed for, to get out of their diſagreeable ſituation, it began to rain, and continued all the day, inſomuch that the river was ſo increaſed by noon, that no one could paſs over, nor could any one be ſent to know where they were, or to get forage and litter for their horſes, or bread and wine for their own ſuſtenance: they were, therefore, obliged to faſt another night.

The horſes had nothing to ſubſiſt on but the leaves of the trees and graſs. They cut down with their ſwords young trees, and tied their horſes to them. They alſo cut down bruſh-wood, to make huts for themſelves.

Some poor peaſants, coming that way in the afternoon, informed them they were fourteen leagues from Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and eleven from Carliſle, and that there was not a town nearer whence they could get any accommodations.

When this intelligence was brought to the king and the principal lords, they directly ſent off meſſengers with horſes to bring them proviſion, and they cauſed a proclamation to be made in the king's name in Newcaſtle, that whoever wiſhed to get money, he had only to bring proviſion, wine, &c. for which he ſhould be inſtantly paid, and a ſafe conduct granted him. They were alſo informed, that they ſhould not move from their preſent quarters, until they had information where the Scots were.

The next day the meſſengers, which the lords had ſent for proviſion, returned about noon with

what they had been able to procure for them and their houſeholds; but it was not much: and with them came people of the country, to take their advantage of the ſituation of the army, and brought with them on mules and ſmall horſes, bread badly baked, in baſkets, and poor thin wine, in large barrels, and other kind of proviſion to ſell, with which the army was tolerably refreſhed, and their diſcontent appeaſed.

This was the caſe during the ſeven days that they remained on the banks of this river, among the mountains, expecting the return of the Scots, who knew no more of the Engliſh than they did of them.

Thus they had remained for three days and three nights without bread, wine, candle, oats, or any other forage: and they were afterwards for four days obliged to buy badly baked bread, at the price of ſixpence the loaf, which was not worth more than a penny, and a gallon of wine for ſix groats, ſcarcely worth ſixpence. Hunger, however, was ſtill felt in the camp, notwithſtanding this ſupply; and frequent quarrels happened from their tearing the meat out of each other's hands.

To add to their unpleaſant ſituation, it had rained all the week, by which all their ſaddles and girths were rotted, and the greater part of the cavalry were worn down. They had not wherewithal to ſhoe their horſes that wanted it; nor had they any thing to clothe themſelves, or preſerve them from the rain and cold, but their jerkins or armour, and

the green huts: nor had they any wood to burn, except what was ſo green and wet as to be of ſmall ſervice.

Having continued for a whole week, without hearing any tidings of the Scots, who they imagined muſt paſs that way, or very near it, in their return home, great murmurs aroſe in the army; and many laid the fault on thoſe who had given ſuch advice, adding, that it was done in order to betray the king and his hoſt. Upon which, the lords of council ordered the army to make ready to march, and croſs the river ſeven leagues higher up, where the ford was better; and it was proclaimed, that every one was to be in readineſs to march the next day, and to follow his banners.

There was another proclamation made, that whoever choſe to take pains and find out where the Scots were, and ſhould bring certain intelligence of it to the king, the meſſenger of ſuch news ſhould have one hundred pounds a-year in land, and be made a knight by the king himſelf.

When this was made known among the hoſt, many knights and eſquires, to the number of fifteen or ſixteen, eager to gain ſuch rewards, paſſed the river with much danger, aſcended the mountains, and then ſeparated, each taking different routes.

The next day, the army diſlodged; marched tolerably well, conſidering that they were but ill clothed; and exerted themſelves ſo much, that they repaſſed the river, though with much danger, from its being ſwollen by the rains. Many were well waſhed, and many drowned.

When they had croſſed over, they remained there for that night, finding plenty of forage in the fields near to a ſmall village, which the Scots had burnt as they paſſed.

The next day they marched over hill and dale till about noon, when they came to ſome burnt villages, and ſome fields where there were corn and hay, ſo that the hoſt remained there that night.

The third day they marched in the ſame manner; but many were ignorant where they were going, nor had they any intelligence of the enemy.

They continued their route the fourth day in this order; when, about three o'clock, an eſquire *, galloping up haſtily to the king, ſaid, 'Sire, I bring you news of the Scots: they are three leagues from this place, lodged on a mountain, where they have been this week, waiting for you. They knew no more where you were than you did of them: and you may depend on this as true; for I approached ſo near to them, that I was taken and led a priſoner to their army, before their chiefs. I informed them where you were, and that you were ſeeking them, to give them battle. The lords gave me up my ranſom, and my liberty, when I informed them, that you had promiſed one hundred pounds a-year as a reward for whoever ſhould firſt bring intelligence of them, upon condition that he

* In Rymer is an order for Thomas de Rokeſby to receive half yearly, at Michalmas and Eaſter, 100l. at the Exchequer, until he was provided with 100l. in land for his life. Signed by the king at Lincoln, Sept. 28, 1327.

reſted not until he gave you this information; and I now tell you that you will find them in the place I have mentioned, as eager to meet you in battle as yourſelf can be.'

As ſoon as the king heard this news, he ordered his army to be prepared, and turned his horſes to feed in the fields, near to a monaſtery of white monks, which had been burnt, and which was called in king Arthur's time, Blanche Land. Then the king confeſſed himſelf, and each made his preparations according to his abilities. The king ordered plenty of maſſes to be ſaid, to houſel ſuch as were devoutly inclined. He aſſigned one hundred pounds value of land, yearly, to the eſquire, according to his promiſe, and made him a knight with his own hands, in the preſence of the whole army.

When they had taken ſome repoſe, and breakfaſted, the trumpets ſounded; and all being mounted, the banners advanced as the young knight led them on; but each battalion marched by itſelf in regular array, over hill and dale, keeping their ranks according to order. Thus they continued marching, when about twelve o'clock they came within ſight of the Scots army.

As ſoon as the Scots perceived them, they iſſued forth from their huts on foot, and formed three good battalions, upon the deſcent of the mountain on which they lodged.

A ſtrong rapid river * ran at the foot of this mountain, which was ſo full of large rocks and

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ſtones, that it was dangerous to paſs it in haſte. If the Engliſh had paſſed this river, there was not room between it and the mountain for them to draw up their line of battle.

The Scots had formed their two firſt battalions on the two ſides of the mountain, and on the declivity of the rock, which was not eaſy to climb to attack them: but they themſelves were poſted ſo as to annoy them with ſtones, if they croſſed the river: which if the Engliſh effected, they would not be able to return.

When the Engliſh lords perceived the diſpoſition of the Scots, they ordered their men to diſmount, take off their ſpurs, and form three battalions as before.

Many new knights were made; and, when the battalions were formed, ſome of the chief lords brought the young king on horſeback along the lines, to encourage the men. The king ſpoke moſt graciouſly to all, and beſought them to take every pains to do him honour and preſerve their own. He ordered, under pain of death, that no one ſhould advance before the banners of the marſhals, or move without orders.

Shortly afterward, the battalions were commanded to advance towards the enemy in ſlow time, keeping their ranks. This was done; and each battalion moved on a conſiderable ſpace, and came to the aſcent of the mountain, where the Scots were poſted.

This manœuvre was intended in order to ſee whether the enemy would retire or make any movement; but neither one nor other was to be perceived:

ceived: and the armies were ſo near each other, that they could ſee the arms on their ſhields.

The army was ordered to halt, to conſider what was to be done; and ſome companions were mounted to ſkirmiſh with the enemy, and to examine the paſſage of the river and their appearance more clearly. They ſent heralds to make an offer of retiring on the morrow, if they would paſs the river, and fight upon the plain; or, if the Scots would not conſent to this, that they would do the ſame.

When the Scots received this propoſal, the chiefs retired to counſel, and returned for anſwer by the heralds, that they would do neither the one nor the other; that the king and his barons ſaw that they were in his kingdom, and had burnt and pillaged wherever they had paſſed; and that, if it diſpleaſed the king, he might come and amend it; for they would tarry there as long as it pleaſed them.

When the council of the king of England heard the anſwer, he ordered it to be proclaimed, that each ſhould take up his quarters where he was, without quitting the ground or his arms: they therefore lay that night very uncomfortably upon the hard ground, among rocks and ſtones, with their armour on; nor could they get any ſtakes for the purpoſe of tying their horſes, or procure either litter, or forage, or any buſhes to make fires.

The Scots, ſeeing the Engliſh thus take up their quarters, ordered part of the army to remain where the battalions had been drawn up; and the remainder retired to their huts, where they made mar-

marvellouſly great fires, and, about midnight, ſuch a blaſting and noiſe with their horns, that it ſeemed as if all the great devils from hell had been come there.

Thus were they lodged this night, which was the night of the feaſt of St. Peter, the beginning of Auguſt 1327, until the next day, when the lords heard maſs: afterward, every one armed himself, and the battalions were formed as on the preceding day.

When the Scots ſaw this, they came and lodged themſelves on the ſame ground they had done before; and the two armies remained thus drawn up until noon, when the Scots made no movement to come towards the Engliſh, nor did theſe on their part make any advances, for they dared not to attempt it with ſo great diſadvantage.

Several companions paſſed the river on horſeback, as did ſome of the foot, to ſkirmiſh with the Scots, who alſo quitted their battalions to meet them, and many on each ſide were killed, wounded, and taken priſoners.

In the afternoon the lords ordered every one to retire to their quarters, as it ſeemed to them that they were drawn up to no purpoſe: in this manner they remained for three days. The Scots, on their ſide, never quitted the mountain; but there were continued ſkirmiſhes on both ſides, and many killed and taken priſoners: in the evenings they made large fires, and great noiſes with their horns and with ſhouting.

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The intention of the Engliſh lords was to keep the Scots beſieged there; for, as they could not well fight with them, they hoped to ſtarve them: they knew from the priſoners that they had neither bread, wine, ſalt, nor other proviſion, except cattle, of which they had plenty, that they had ſeized in the country;—of theſe they might eat, indeed, without bread, which would not be very palatable. But they had ſome little flour to make ſuch cakes as have been before mentioned, and which ſome of the Engliſh uſe on their inroads beyond the borders.

The fourth day, in the morning, the Engliſh looked for the Scots on the mountain, but ſaw none of them, for they found they had decamped ſecretly at midnight.

Scouts of horſe and of foot were immediately diſpatched through the mountains to know what was become of them; they found them about four o'clock poſted upon another mountain, much ſtronger than that they had left, upon the ſame river, near a large wood, to be more concealed, and in order more privately to advance or retreat at pleaſure.

As ſoon as this was known, the Engliſh had orders to diſlodge, and to march in battle array towards the place where the enemy was poſted; and they encamped on a mountain oppoſite. They formed their battalions, and ſeemed as if they meant to advance to them. The Scots no ſooner perceived this, than they ſallied out of their quarters, and came and poſted themſelves by the ſide

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of the river, directly in front; but they were unwilling to advance or come nearer. The Engliſh could not attack them in ſuch a ſituation without great diſadvantage and loſs; they remained full eighteen days in this ſituation upon this mountain, whence the lords ſent frequent heralds to the Scots, to offer to give them full place of plain ground to draw up their battalions, or elſe they would accept the ſame from them; but they would not agree to either of theſe propoſals.

The two armies had little comfort during the time they remained in this poſition.

The firſt night that the Engliſh were poſted on this ſecond mountain, the lord James Douglas took with him about two hundred men at arms, and at midnight croſſed the river, at ſuch a diſtance from the camp that he was not noticed, and fell upon the Engliſh army moſt valiantly, ſhouting, 'Douglas for ever! Ye ſhall die, ye thieves of England!' He and his companions killed more than three hundred; and he gallopped up to the king's tent, and cut two or three of its cords, crying, at the ſame time, 'Douglas! Douglas for ever!' when he ſet off; and in his retreat, he loſt ſome of his followers, but not many;—he returned to his friends on the mountain.

Nothing more of the ſort was attempted from that time; but the Engliſh in future kept a ſtrong and attentive guard, for they were fearful of another attack from the Scots, and had placed ſentinels and ſcouts to give notice of the ſmalleſt movement of the enemy; the chief lords alſo ſlept

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in their armour. There were frequent ſkirmiſhes and many lives loſt on both ſides.

The twenty-fourth day from the time they had received intelligence of the enemy, a Scots knight was taken priſoner, who, ſore againſt his will, gave an account to the lords of the ſtate of the enemy. He was ſo cloſely examined, that he owned his lords had given orders that morning for every one to be armed by veſpers, and follow the banner of lord James Douglas; that it was to be kept ſecret; but he was not, for a certainty, acquainted with their intentions further.

Upon this the Engliſh lords held a council; and they judged, from the information of the Scots knight, that the enemy might perhaps come in full force at night to attack them on both ſides at once, and, from their ſufferings by famine, which they could endure no longer, make it a very bloody and doubtful combat.

The Engliſh formed into three battalions, and poſted themſelves before their quarters, on three ſeparate ſpots of ground; they made large fires, in order to ſee better, and left their pages in their quarters to take care of their horſes. They remained under arms all the night, and each was placed under his own ſtandard or banner.

Towards day-break two Scots trumpeters fell in with one of the patroles, who took them, and brought them before the lords of the council, to whom they ſaid, 'My lords, why do you watch here? You are loſing your time; for we ſwear, by our heads, that the Scots are on their march home

home ſince midnight, and are now four or five leagues off—and they left us behind, that we might give you the information.'

The Engliſh ſaid, that it would be in vain to follow them, as they could never overtake them; but, fearing deceit, the lords ordered the trumpeters to cloſe confinement, and did not alter the poſition of the battalions until four o'clock. When they ſaw that the Scots were really gone, they gave permiſſion for each to retire to his quarters, and the lords held a council to conſider what was to be done. Some of the Engliſh, however, mounted their horſes, paſſed the river, and went to the mountain which the Scots had quitted, and found more than five hundred large cattle, which the enemy had killed, as they were too heavy to carry with them, and too ſlow to follow them, and they wiſhed not to let them fall into the hands of the Engliſh alive. They found there alſo more than three hundred cauldrons, made of leather, with the hair on the outſide, which were hung on the fires full of water and meat, ready for boiling. There were alſo upwards of a thouſand ſpits with meat on them, prepared for roaſting; and more than ten thouſand pairs of old worn out ſhoes, made of undreſſed leather, which the Scots had left there.

There were found five poor Engliſh priſoners, whom the Scots had bounden naked to the trees, and ſome of them had their legs broken; they untied them, and ſent them away, and then returned to the army, juſt as they were ſetting out

on their march to England, by orders from the king and council.

They followed all that day the banners of the marſhals, and halted at an early hour in a beautiful meadow, where there was plenty of forage for their horſes; and much need was there of it, for they were ſo weakened by famine, that they could ſcarce move.

The next day they decamped betimes, and took up their quarters ſtill earlier, at a large monaſtery within two leagues of Durham. The king lay there that night, and the army in the fields around it, where they found plenty of graſs, pulſe, and corn. They remained there quiet the next day; but the king and lords went to ſee the church of Durham. The king paid his homage to the church and the biſhopric, which he had not before done, and gave largeſſes to the citizens.

They found there all their carriages and baggage, which they had left in a wood thirty-two days before, at midnight, as has been related. The inhabitants of Durham finding them there, had brought them away at their own coſt, and placed them in empty barns. Each carriage had a little flag attached to it, that it might be known. The lords were much pleaſed at finding them again.

The king and nobles repoſed two days at Durham, and the army in its environs, for there would not have been ſufficient room to lodge them in that city. They had all their horſes well ſhod, and ſet out on their march towards York. They made ſuch haſte, that in three days they arrived there,

and found the queen mother, who received the king and nobles with great joy, as did all the ladies of the court and city.

The king diſbanded his army, and gave permiſſion for every one to return to his home, and made many acknowledgements to the earls, barons, and knights, for the ſervices they had rendered him by their advice and proweſs. He kept near his perſon ſir John de Hainault and his company, who were much feaſted by the queen and all the ladies.

The knights made out their accounts for horſes, which had been ruined or loſt, or had died, and gave them in to the council; and alſo a ſtatement of their own expenſes, which ſir John de Hainault took upon him as his own debt towards his followers, for the king and his miniſters could not immediately collect ſuch a ſum as their horſes amounted to; but he gave them ſufficient for their own expenſes, and to carry them back to their own country*. They were afterwards all paid within the year the full amount of their loſſes.

When

* In Rymer there is an order from king Edw. to his treaſurer to pay ſir John de Hainault ſeven thouſand pounds, in part of fourteen thouſand, the ſubſidy for himſelf and companions. Dated York, June 28, 1327.

In the ſame year, dated July 4, William d'Irland is ordered to provide carriages for ſir John de Hainault and his company. This order, &c. is to continue in force until the following Michaelmas.

There is another order to the treaſurer from York, Auguſt 20, 1327, to pay ſir John de Hainault on his arrival in London, four thouſand pounds, on account of his loſs in horſes, and

to

When the Hainaulters had received their demand for horſes, they purchaſed ſmall hackneys to ride more at their eaſe, and ſent their carriages, ſumpter horſes, trunks, and ſervants, on board of two ſhips, which the king had provided for them, and which landed them at Sluys, in Flanders.

They took leave of the king, queen, the earls of Kent and Lancaſter, and of all the barons, who paid them many honours; and the king had them eſcorted by twelve knights and two hundred men at arms, for fear of the archers, of whom they were not well aſſured, as they muſt paſs through the biſhopric of Lincoln.

Sir John and all his company ſet out, eſcorted as above, and by eaſy journeys came to Dover, where they embarked on board veſſels ready provided for them. The Engliſh who had accompanied them took their leave, and returned to their homes.

The Hainaulters arrived at Wiſſan, where they tarried two days, in order to deck out their horſes and the remains of their armour; during which time ſir John de Hainault and ſome other knights went on a pilgrimage to our lady of Boulogne.

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to pawn the jewels in the tower, if there were not a ſufficiency of money for the purpoſe.

A paſſport of the ſame date, commanding none to do any harm, &c, to ſir John de Hainault.

An order, ſigned by the king at Eveſham, June 28, 1328, for ſeven thouſand pounds to ſir John de Hainault, as part of the fourteen thouſand pounds.

They returned together to Hainault, when they ſeparated, and each went to his own houſe; but ſir John went to his brother, who was at that time at Valenciennes: he was received by him with great joy, as he was much beloved by him. The lord of Beaumont then related to him all the above mentioned hiſtory.

CHAP. XVIII.

KING EDWARD MARRIES THE LADY PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT.

SHORTLY afterwards, the king, queen, the earl of Kent, his uncle, earl Henry of Lancaſter, the earl of Mortimer, and all the barons who were of the council, ſent a biſhop*, two knights bannerets†, and two able clerks, to ſir John de Hainault,

* Dr. Roger Northborough, biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry. ASHMOLE.

† On knights bannerets, tranſlated from a manuſcript which was in the Lamoignon library, but is now at Hafod; vol. iv. p. 227, firſt part.

"Knights bannerets were formerly gentlemen of great power, by landed poſſeſſions, and vaſſals, of whom they formed companies in times of war: they were called bannerets from their having the right of bearing banners.

"It was neceſſary, in order to obtain the prerogative, to be not only a gentleman by name and arms, but alſo to have for vaſſals gentlemen who would follow their banners to the wars, under the command of the banneret.

"Dueange cites an ancient manuſcript ceremonial, which points

Hainault, to beg of him to be the means that the young king, their lord, ſhould marry; and that the count of Hainault and Holland would ſend over one of his daughters, for he would love her more dearly on his account, than any other lady.

The lord of Beaumont feaſted, and paid many honours to theſe meſſengers and commiſſioners from the Engliſh king. He then took them to Valenciennes, where his brother received them right honourably, and gave them ſuch ſumptuous entertainments, as would be tireſome to relate.

When they had told the cauſe of their miſſion, the count ſaid he gave many thanks to the king, queen, and the lords by whoſe counſel they were ſent thither, to do him ſo much honour, and who on ſuch an occaſion had ſent ſuch able men, that he moſt willingly complied with their requeſt, if the pope and the holy church of Rome were agreeable to the demand.

This anſwer was fully ſatisfactory to them, and they immediately diſpatched two of the knights and the clerks to the pope at Avignon, to entreat his diſpenſation and conſent to this marriage; for without the pope's diſpenſation it could not be done, on account of their near relationſhip, being in the

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points out the manner of making a knight banneret, and the number of men he was to have follow him.

"Knights bannerets, according to father Daniel, do not appear in our hiſtory before Philip Auguſtus; they continued until the formation of companies of ordonnance by Charles the Seventh; and from that period there were no longer any banners or knights bannerets."

third degree connected, for their two mothers were couſins german, being the iſſue of two brothers. As ſoon as they came to Avignon their buſineſs was done, for the pope and the college gave their conſent moſt benignantly.

When theſe gentlemen were returned to Valenciennes from Avignon with all their bulls, this marriage was directly ſettled and conſented to on each ſide, and immediate preparations were made for the dreſs and equipage of ſuch a lady, who was to be the queen of England. She was then married by virtue of a procuration, which the king of England had ſent thither, and went on board a ſhip at Wiſſan, and landed at Dover with all her ſuite. Her uncle, ſir John de Hainault, conducted her to London, where ſhe was crowned; and there were great crowds of the nobility, and feaſtings, tournaments, and ſumptuous entertainments every day, which laſted for three weeks.

After ſome days ſir John took his leave, and ſet out with his company richly loaded with jewels, which had been preſented to them from different quarters.

But few of our countrymen remained with the young queen; among whom was a youth called Wantelet de Manny, to attend on and carve for her, who performed afterward ſo many gallant deeds of arms, in ſuch various different places, that they are not to be counted.

CHAP. XIX.

ROBERT, KING OF SCOTLAND, DIES.

AFTFR the Scots had in the night quitted the mountain, where the young king Edward and the nobles of England had held them beſieged, as you have before heard, they marched twenty-two leagues from that defert country without halting, and croſſed the Tyne pretty near to Carliſle, where by the orders of the chiefs, all diſbanded, and went to their own homes.

Shortly afterward ſome of the lords and barons ſo earneſtly ſolicited the king of England, that a truce was agreed on between the two kings for three years.

During this truce, it happened that king Robert of Scotland, who had been a very valiant knight, waxed old, and was attacked with ſo ſevere an illneſs*, that he ſaw his end was approaching; he therefore ſummoned together all the chiefs and barons, in whom he moſt confided, and, after having told them, that he ſhould never get the better of this ſickneſs, he commanded them, upon their honour and loyalty, to keep and preſerve faithfully and entire the kingdom for his ſon David, and obey him and crown him king when he was of a proper age, and to marry him with a lady ſuitable to his ſtation.

* *La groſſe maladie*—leproſy.

He after that called to him the gallant lord James Douglas, and ſaid to him, in preſence of the others, 'My dear friend lord James Douglas, you know that I have had much to do, and have ſuffered many troubles, during the time I have lived, to ſupport the rights of my crown: at the time that I was moſt occupied, I made a vow, the nonaccompliſhment of which gives me much uneaſineſs—I vowed, that, if I could finiſh my wars in ſuch a manner, that I might have quiet to govern peaceably, I would go and make war againſt the enemies of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the adverſaries of the Chriſtian faith. To this point my heart has always leaned; but our Lord was not willing, and gave me ſo much to do in my lifetime, and this laſt expedition has laſted ſo long, followed by this heavy ſickneſs, that, ſince my body cannot accompliſh what my heart wiſhes, I will ſend my heart in the ſtead of my body to fulfil my vow. And, as I do not knew any one knight ſo gallant or enterpriſing, or better formed to complete my intentions than yourſelf, I beg and entreat of you, dear and ſpecial friend, as earneſtly as I can, that you would have the goodneſs to undertake this expedition for the love of me, and to acquit my ſoul to our Lord and Saviour; for I have that opinion of your nobleneſs and loyalty, that, if you undertake it, it cannot fail of ſucceſs—and I ſhall die more contented; but it muſt be executed as follows.

'I will, that as ſoon as I ſhall be dead, you take my heart from my body, and have it well embalmed; you will alſo take as much money from

my

my treaſury as will appear to you ſufficient to perform your journey, as well as for all thoſe whom you may chooſe to take with you in your train; you will then depoſit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, where he was buried, ſince my body cannot go there. You will not be ſparing of expence—and provide yourſelf with ſuch company and ſuch things as may be ſuitable to your rank—and wherever you paſs, you will let it be known, that you bear the heart of king Robert of Scotland, which you are carrying beyond ſeas by his command, ſince his body cannot go thither.'

All thoſe preſent began bewailing bitterly; and when the lord James could ſpeak, he ſaid,' Gallant and noble king, I return you a hundred thouſand thanks for the high honour you do me, and for the valuable and dear treaſure with which you entruſt me; and I will moſt willingly do all that you command me with the utmoſt loyalty in my power; never doubt it, however I may feel myſelf unworthy of ſuch a high diſtinction.'

The king replied, ' Gallant knight, I thank you —You promiſe it me then ?'

' Certainly, ſir, moſt willingly,' anſwered the knight. He then gave his promiſe upon his knighthood.

The king ſaid, ' Thanks be to God! for I ſhall now die in peace, ſince I know that the moſt valiant and accompliſhed knight of my kingdom will perform that for me, which I am unable to do for myſelf.'

Soon

Soon afterwards the valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, departed this life, on the 7th of November, 1337. His heart was embalmed, and his body buried in the monaſtery of Dunfermline.

Shortly after died alſo the noble earl of Moray, who was one of the moſt gallant and powerful princes in Scotland: he bore for arms, argent, three pillows gules*.

Early in the ſpring, the lord James Douglas, having made proviſion of every thing that was proper for his expedition, embarked at the port of

* Thomas Randolph, firſt earl of Moray, was very eminent in the reign of Robert Bruce, who granted him the earldom of Moray, together with the ſeigniory of the Iſle of Man, as a fief, and great eſtates in Scotland, about the year 1315. He was appointed by the parliament in 1315 governor of Scotland, in the probable event of the minority, of the ſucceſſor, and entered on that office on the death of Robert.

Lord Hailes ſays, in his Annals of Scotland, anno 1332: "Randolph, in conſequence of the Engliſh preparations, aſſembled an army, and advanced to Colbranſpath, on the frontier of Eaſt Lothian: but having received intelligence of the naval armament, he marched northwards, to provide for the defence of the interior parts of the kingdom. Amidſt the excruciating pains of a confirmed ſtone, he ceaſed not to diſcharge the duties of his office with activity and vigilance. He expired on the march (20th July). A man he was, to be remembered while integrity, prudence, and valor, are held in eſteem among men."

I have quoted the above as a more probable reaſon for his death than the report of ſome of the Chroniclers, who have ſaid he was poiſoned by a monk, with the knowledge of Edward III. Lord Hailes has added a note to this paſſage, vol. ii. p. 146, which completely diſproves it.

Montroſe,

Montroſe, and ſailed directly for Sluys, in Flanders, in order to learn if any one were going beyond the ſea to Jeruſalem, that he might join companies. He remained there twelve days, and would not ſet his foot on ſhore, but ſtaid the whole time on board, where he kept a magnificient table, with muſic of trumpets and drums, as if he had been the king of Scotland. His company conſiſted of one knight banneret, and ſeven others of the moſt valiant knights of Scotland, without counting the reſt of his houſehold. His plate was of gold and ſilver, conſiſting of pots, baſins, porringers, cups, bottels, barrels, and other ſuch things. He had likewiſe twenty-ſix young and gallant eſquires of the beſt families in Scotland to wait on him; and all thoſe who came to viſit him were handſomely ſerved with two ſorts of wine and two ſorts of ſpices—I mean thoſe of a certain rank.

At laſt, after ſtaying at Sluys twelve days, he heard that Alphonſo, king of Spain, was waging war againſt the Saracen king of Granada. He conſidered, that if he ſhould go thither he ſhould employ his time and journey according to the late king's wiſhes; and when he ſhould have finiſhed there he would proceed further to complete that with which he was charged. He made ſail, therefore towards Spain, and landed firſt at Valentia; thence he went ſtraight to the king of Spain, who was with his army on the frontiers, very near the Saracen king of Granada.

It happened ſoon after the arrival of the lord James Douglas, that the king of Spain iſſued forth into

into the fields, to make his approaches nearer the enemy; the king of Granada did the ſame; and each king could eaſily diſtinguiſh the other's banners, and they both began to ſet their armies in array.

The lord James placed himſelf and his company on one ſide, to make better work, and a more powerful effort.

When he perceived that the battalions on each ſide were fully arranged, and that of the king of Spain in motion, he imagined they were about to begin the onſet; and as he always wiſhed to be among the firſt rather than laſt on ſuch occaſions, he and all his company ſtuck their ſpurs into their horſes, until they were in the midſt of the king of Granada's battalion, and made a furious attack on the Saracens. He thought that he ſhould be ſupported by the Spaniards; but in this he was miſtaken, for not one that day followed his example. The gallant knight and all his companions were ſurrounded by the enemy: they performed prodigies of valour; but they were of no avail, as they were all killed. It was a great misfortune that they were not aſſiſted by the Spainards*.

About

* Mariana ſays, lib. xv. cap. 21, that the king of Arragon, although joined in alliance with the king of Caſtile againſt the Moors, did not bring his troops to the field.

Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, anno 1330.—"The detached troops fought with equal advantage, and the Mooriſh cavalry fled. Douglas with his companions, eagerly purſued the Saracens. Taking the caſket from his neck,

About this time, many of the nobles and others, deſirous of a ſettled peace betwen the Scots and Engliſh, propoſed a marriage between the young king of Scotland and the ſiſter of the king of

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neck, which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him, and cried, '*Now paſs thou onward as thou was wont, and Douglas will follow thee, or die!* The fugitives rallied — Surrounded and overwhelmed by ſuperior numbers, Douglas fell, while attempting to reſcue ſir William St. Clare, of Roſlin, who ſhared his fate. Robert and Walter Logan, both of them knights, were ſlain with Douglas. His friend ſir William Keith, having had his arm broke, was detained from the battle. His few ſurviving companions found his body in the field, together with the caſket, and reverently conveyed them to Scotland. The remains of Douglas were interred in the ſepulchre of his fathers, in the church of Douglas, and the heart of Bruce was depoſited at Melros.

" His natural ſon, Archibald Douglas, erected a marble monument to his memory; but his countrymen have more effectually perpetuated his fame, by beſtowing on him the name of 'the good ſir James Douglas.' Fordun reports, that Douglas was thirteen times defeated in battle, and fifty ſeven times victorious.

" Perhaps my readers will not diſlike to ſee the portrait of Douglas drawn by Barbour, p. 13.

" In viſage was he ſome deal gray,
And had black hair, as I heard ſay,
But then of limbs, he was well made,
With bones great, and ſhoulders braid.
His body well made and lenzie,
As they that ſaw him ſaid to me.
When he was blyth, he was lovely
And mec[illegible] and ſweet in company;
But who in battle might him ſee,
Another countenance had he;
And in his ſpeech he liſpt ſome deal,
But that ſet him right wonder well."

England. This marriage was concluded, and ſolemniſed at Berwick, with great feaſts and rejoicings on both ſides.

CHAP. XX.

PHILIP OF VALOIS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.

CHARLES, king of France, ſon of Philip the Fair, had been thrice married, and yet died without heirs male. The firſt of his wives, a daughter of the count of Artois, was one of the moſt beautiful women in the world; however ſhe kept her marriage vow ſo ill, and behaved ſo badly, that ſhe was long confined in priſon at Chateau Gaillard, before her huſband was king.

When the kingdom of France devolved upon him, he was crowned by the twelve peers of France and all the barons, who were not willing that ſuch a kingdom ſhould be deprived of male heirs; they therefore ſtrongly recommended his marrying again, with which he complied, and took to wife the daughter of the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, ſiſter to the gallant king of Bohemia. His firſt marriage with the lady in priſon, was diſſolved by the pope of that day.

By this ſecond wife, the lady of Luxemburgh, who was modeſt and prudent, the king had a ſon, who died very young, and the mother ſoon afterward, at Iſſoudun, in Berry. The cauſe of their deaths was much ſuſpected, and many were inculpated in it, and privily puniſhed.

The

The king was afterwards married a third time, to the daughter of his uncle, Lewis, count of Evreux and ſiſter to the king of Navarre. She was called queen Joan.

She was ſoon afterward with child, and at the ſame time the king fell ſick on his death bed. When he perceived that he could not recover, he ordered, that, if the child ſhould be a ſon, Philip of Valois, his couſin, ſhould be his guardian, and regent of the whole kingdom, until ſuch time as his ſon ſhould be of age to reign; that, if it ſhould happen to be a girl, then the twelve peers and great barons were to aſſemble to take counſel together, and to give the kingdom to him, who appeared to them to have the cleareſt right.

About Eaſter, 1326, the king died; and it was not long before the queen was brought to bed of a beautiful girl.

The twelve peers and barons of France aſſembled at Paris without delay, and gave the kingdom with one conſent to Philip of Valois. They paſſed by the queen of England, and the king her ſon, although ſhe was couſin german to the king laſt deceaſed; for they ſaid, that the kingdom of France was of ſuch great nobleneſs, that it ought not to fall by ſucceſſion to a female.

They crowned the lord Philip king of France, at Rheims, the Trinity Sunday following. Immediately he ſummoned his barons and men at arms, and went with a powerful army to Caſſel, to make war upon the Flemings, eſpecially thoſe of Brug s,

Ypres, and of the Franc*, who would not willingly obey their lord, the count of Flanders, but rebelled againſt him, and had driven him out of the country, ſo that he could reſide no where but at Ghent, and there miſerable enough.

King Philip diſcomfited full twelve thouſand Flemings, who had for their captain one Colin Dannequin, a bold and courageous man.

The above mentioned Flemings had put the garriſon of Caſſel under the command of the aforeſaid towns, and at their charges, to guard the frontiers at that place.

I will inform you how the Flemings were defeated, and all through their own bad conduct.

CHAP. XXI.

THE BATTLE OF CASSEL, IN FLANDERS.

THOSE that were in the garriſon at Caſſel ſet out one day, about veſpers, with a deſign to defeat the king and all his army. They marched very quietly without noiſe in three diviſions; the firſt of which advanced ſtraight to the tents of the king, and was near ſurpriſing him, as he was ſeated

* "Le Franc, Franconatus, Terra Franca. It is part of French Flanders, and was yielded to the French by the peace of the Pyrenees; it comprehends the bailiwicks of Bourbourg, Bergue, St. Winox, and Furnes, and beſide the capital towns of theſe bailiwicks, thoſe of Dunkirk and Gravelines." Dictionnaire Geographique, per Baudran.

at

at ſupper, as well as his whole houſehold. The ſecond went to the tents of the king of Bohemia, and almoſt found him in the ſame ſituation. The third diviſion attacked the quarters of the count of Hainault, and nearly ſurpriſed him: they preſſed him ſo cloſely, that he and his people had ſcarce time to arm themſelves; and the lord of Beaumont, his brother, and his company, were in a ſimilar ſituation.

All the three diviſions came ſo quickly up to the tents, that neither the lords nor ſoldiers had time to aſſemble or properly arm themſelves, and they would all have been ſlain, if it had not been, as it were, a miracle of God: but, by his grace, each of theſe lords defeated their enemies, and ſo completely, that, in the ſpace of an hour, out of twelve thouſand Flemings not one eſcaped. Their captain was alſo killed. Nor did any of theſe lords receive any intelligence of the other until the buſineſs was finiſhed.

Of all the Flemings not one turned his back; but they were all ſlaughtered on the ſpot, and lay in three large heaps, one upon the other. This battle happened in the year of grace 1328, on St. Bartholomew's day.

The French came then to Caſſel, and placed there the banners of France, the town having ſurrendered to the king. Afterward Poperingue, and then Ypres, and all the caſtlewick of Bergues followed, and received the count Lewis their lord, and ſwore fidelity and loyalty to him for the time to come.

The king ſoon after ſet out with his troops towards Paris, where, and in the neighbourhood, he ſtaid ſome time. He was much praiſed and honoured for this enterpriſe, and for the ſervice he had rendered to the count Lewis, his brother. He lived in great proſperity, and increaſed the royal power. No king of France, it was ſaid, had ever kept ſo royal a ſtate as king Philip.

CHAP. XXII.

THE EARL OF KENT AND SIR ROGER MORTIMER PUT TO DEATH.

THE young king Edward of England was governed for a long time, as you have before ſeen, by the counſels of his mother, the earl of Kent his uncle, and ſir Roger Mortimer; at laſt a jealouſy aroſe between the earl of Kent and ſir Roger, inſomuch that ſir Roger, with the conſent of the queen mother, gave the king to underſtand that the earl of Kent would ſhorten his life by poiſon, if he was not upon his guard, to inherit the kingdom as next heir; for the young brother of the king, called John of Eltham, was lately dead*.

* Froiſſart miſtakes.—John of Eltham lived more than ſix years after the death of the earl of Kent. There were, beſide his elder brother, Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, living, as well as the two ſiſters of the king, Joan and Eleanor.

King

King Edward believed theſe tales but too readily, and ordered his uncle, the earl of Kent, to be arreſted, and publicly beheaded, before any could come to intercede for him. The whole country were much concerned at it, and bore an ill will to the lord Mortimer ever after.

Not long after, great infamy fell upon the queen mother—whether with juſt cauſe or not I am ignorant, but it was commonly ſaid, that ſhe was with child, and in this was the lord Mortimer inculpated.

The king was likewiſe informed, that the lord Mortimer had been the author of all the charges reſpecting the earl of Kent, and conſequently was the author of his death, through jealouſy; and that the whole country believed him loyal and honeſt.

The king then ordered the lord Mortimer to be arreſted and brought to London, before him and a very great number of barons and nobles of the realm. A knight, by the king's command, recited all the deeds of the lord Mortimer, from a declaration which he held in his hand. Every one was then aſked, by way of counſel, what ſentence ſhould be paſſed. Judgement was ſoon given; for each had perfect knowledge of the facts, from report and good information. They replied to the king's queſtion, that he ought to ſuffer the ſame death as ſir Hugh Spencer, which ſentence had neither delay of execution or mercy. He was immediately drawn upon a hurdle through the city of London, and placed on a ladder in the midſt of the market-place;

when he had his private parts cut off, and caſt into a fire, becauſe he had thought and acted treaſonably. His body was then quartered, and ſent to the four principal cities in England; his head remained in London *.

The king, ſoon after, by the advice of his council, ordered his mother to be confined in a goodly caſtle, and gave her plenty of ladies to wait and attend on her, as well as knights and eſquires of honour. He made her a handſome allowance to keep and maintain the ſtate ſhe had been uſed to; but forbid that ſhe ſhould ever go out or ſhow herſelf abroad, except at certain times, when any ſhows were exhibited in the court of the caſtle.

The queen thus paſſed her time there meekly; and the king, her ſon, viſited her twice or thrice a year.

CHAP. XXIII.

KING EDWARD PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING OF FRANCE FOR THE DUCHY OF GUIENNE.

AFTER king Edward had adminiſtered theſe two great acts of juſtice, he took new counſellors, the wiſeſt and beſt beloved by his people.

* This is not correct.—His body, after hanging for two days and two nights by the king's ſpecial command, through his favour, was granted to the Friars Minors, or Gray Friars, in London, who buried him in their church, now called Chriſt Church; whence, many years afterwards, it was tranſlated to Wigmore. DUGDALE.

About

About a year after the coronation of king Philip of France, when all the barons and tenants of the crown had done him fealty and homage, except the young king Edward, who had neither appeared, nor had even been ſummoned, the king of France, by the advice of his council, ſent to him the lord of Ancenis, the lord of Beauſault, and two clerks learned in the laws, and of the parliament of Paris, named maſter Peter of Orléans, and maſter Peter of Maiſieres.

Theſe four left Paris, and travelled on to Wiſſan, where they embarked, paſſed over, and landed at Dover; there they remained one whole day, waiting for the diſembarkation of their horſes and baggage. They then went forwards and came to Windſor, where the king and young queen reſided. They ſent to inform the king of the cauſe of their journey; when king Edward, to do honour to his couſin the king of France, invited them to his preſence, and treated them with much favour.

After they had delivered their meſſage to the king, he replied, that he had not then his council with him, but he would ſend for them, and they might now return to London, where ſuch an anſwer would be given to them, as ſhould be ſufficient.

Upon hearing this, and after they had dined, to their great ſatisfaction, in the king's apartment, they ſet out, and lay that night at Coldbrook: the next day they arrived in London.

The king did not delay long in following them, but came to his palace of Weſtminſter, and ordered

his council to aſſemble. They ſent for the meſſengers from France, who, when they had told why they were come, and had given the letters ſent by the king, their lord, withdrew. The king having aſked of his council what was to be done, it was reſolved, to give an anſwer according to the ordinances and ſtyle of his predeceſſors, and that the biſhop of London ſhould deliver it, which was done as follows:

'Gentlemen, who are come here by the orders of the king of France, I bid you welcome: we have heard your ſpeech, and read your letters. We inform you, that we adviſe the king, our lord, to paſs over to France to ſee his couſin, who ſo kindly has ſent to him; and, moreover, to perform his homage and loyalty, for in truth he is bounden to it by his duty. You will tell the king, your lord, that our king and maſter will ſhortly be with him, and do all that is proper and right for him to do.'

After the meſſengers had been well entertained, and received many rich preſents and jewels from the king, they took their leave, and returned to Paris, where they found king Philip, to whom they related all that had paſſed.

The king ſaid, he ſhould be very happy to receive his couſin, king Edward, whom he had never ſeen.

When this news was ſpread over France, dukes, counts, and all the nobility, made great and rich preparations.

The king of France ſent letters to king Charles of Bohemia and the king of Navarre, to inform them of

of the day, that the king of England was expected to appear, and to desire they would be present. Accordingly they came in very great magnificence.

The king of France was advised to receive the king of England in the city of Amiens. There were great preparations made to get apartments, houses, and provision for him and his attendants, as well as for the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, who were provided for by him, and the duke of Burgundy.

The dukes of Bourbon and Lorraine, and lord John of Artois, were to be there, with upwards of three thousand horse; and the king of England's suite was to consist of six hundred horse.

The young king did not forget, in this journey to France, to equip himself becoming his rank: he set out from England, accompanied by two bishops with the bishop of London *; four earls—Henry earl of Derby, his cousin german, son of Thomas earl of Lancaster, his uncle, sirnamed Wryneck, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Hereford; and six barons—lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Wager, the marshal of England, lord Percy, the lord of Manny, lord Mowbray, and more than forty other nobles and knights †.

There were upwards of a thousand horse attending on and provided for by the king. They were

* Dr. Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London; Dr. John Stratford, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Henry Burwash, bishop of Lincoln.

† See Rymer, anno 1329, for the names of those who passed over to France with king Edward.

two days in paſſing from Dover to Wiſſan. Then the king and his company rode to Boulogne, where he ſtaid one day:—it was about mid-Auguſt when the king arrived at Boulogne*.

News being ſoon carried to king Philip, that the king of England was at Boulogne, he directly ſent his conſtable, and a number of knights, to meet him;—they found him at Montrieul ſur Mer. After many congratulations and profeſſions of love, the king of England rode on, accompanied by the conſtable, and he and all his company arrived at Amiens, where king Philip was in all pomp ready to receive him, attended by the kings of Bohemia, Majorca, and Navarre, and a number of dukes, counts, barons, and other nobles. The twelve peers of France were alſo preſent, as well to do perſonal honour to the king of England, as to be witneſſes when he ſhould perform his homage.

The king of England was moſt magnificently received, and he and his company remained there fifteen days, during which time many conferences were held and ordinances framed.

It appears to me, that king Edward at that time did homage by mouth and words, but without placing his hands in the hands of the king of France, or any prince, prelate, or deputy doing it for him. And the king of England, by the advice of his council, would not proceed further in this buſineſs,

* In Rymer there is a memorandum that the king embarked at Dover for France, at mid-day, the 26th of May, 1329.

until

until he ſhould be returned to England, and have examined the privileges of old times, to clear up this homage, and ſee by what means a king of England was a vaſſal to the king of France.

The king of France replied, 'couſin, we do not wiſh to deceive you; what you have hitherto done has been very agreeable to us, and we will wait until you ſhall have returned into your own country and ſeen, from the deeds of your predeceſſors, what you ought to do.'

The king of England, taking a friendly leave of the king of France, and of the other princes who were preſent, returned to England. He journeyed on to Windſor, where the queen received him with much pleaſure. She made inquiries after king Philip her uncle, and after her other relations in France.

The king, her huſband, related to her all that had paſſed, and the particulars of his magnificent reception, and the great honours that were paid to him in France; which were ſuch, that no other country could pretend to do the like.

It was not long before the king of France ſent into England the following privy counſellors, the biſhops of Chartres and of Beauvais, the lord Louis de Clermont, the duke de Bourbon, the count de Harcourt, the count de Tancarville, and other knights and clerks learned in the laws, to attend the conference that was to be holden at London on the ſubject above mentioned.

The king of England had examined in what manner his predeceſſors had done their homage for

what

what they held in Acquitaine, of which they were ſtyled dukes. Many in England murmured, that their king ſhould do homage to Philip, who had not ſo near a right to the crown of France as himſelf. Neither the king nor his council was ignorant of this;—however a great parliament and aſſembly were holden on the ſubject of his homage.

The ambaſſadors from the king of France remained all the winter, till the month of May following, without being able to obtain any definitive anſwer.

At laſt, the king of England, in conformity to his privileges, in which he put much faith, was adviſed to write letters in the manner of patents, ſealed with his great ſeal, acknowledging what ſort of homage he owed, and ought to pay to the king of France, which letters were in the following terms:

"Edward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Acquitaine, to all by whom theſe preſent letters ſhall be ſeen and heard, greeting.

"We make known, that when we paid our homage to our excellent and well beloved lord and couſin, Philip, king of France, at Amiens, it was required by him of us, that we ſhould acknowledge ſuch homage to be liege, and that we, in paying him ſuch homage, ſhould promiſe expreſsly to be faithful and true to him—which things we did not then do, as we were ignorant if they were due, and only paid him general homage in ſuch terms, as ſaying, we entered into his homage in the ſame manner as our predeceſſors, the dukes of Guienne, had in former

days,

days entered into homage to the kings of France, who for that time were, and being ſince better informed as to the truth acknowledge by theſe preſents, that the homage, which we paid to the king of France in the city of Amiens, by general words, was, is, and ought to be conſidered as liege homage, and that we owe him loyalty and truth, as duke of Acquitaine, peer of France, earl of Poitou, and Montrieul; and we promiſe to bear him loyalty and truth. That from henceforward no more diſputes may ariſe, we promiſe for ourſelves and our ſucceſſors dukes of Acquitaine, that the above mentioned homage ſhall be performed in the manner following.

" The king of England, as duke of Acquitaine, ſhall hold his hands in the hands of the king of France; and the perſon who ſhall addreſs his ſpeech to the king of England as duke of Acquitaine, and who ſhall ſpeak for the king of France, ſhall ſay thus: You become liegeman to the king my lord, here preſent, as duke of Acquitaine, and a peer of France, and you promiſe to bear him faith and loyalty—Say Yea: and the king of England, duke of Guienne, as well as all their ſucceſſors, ſhall ſay Yea: and then the king of France ſhall receive the king of England, duke of Guienne, by faith and mouth, ſaving any other their reciprocal rights.

" Moreover, when the ſaid king and duke ſhall enter upon his homage to the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou aud Montrieul, he ſhall put his hands into the hands of the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou and Montrieul; and the perſon who ſhall ſpeak for the king of France ſhall addreſs

theſe

theſe words to the king as earl, and ſay as follows: You become liegeman to the king of France, my lord, here preſent, as earl of Poitou and Montrieul, and you promiſe to be faithful and loyal to him—Say Yea: and the king, as count of Poitou and Montrieul, ſhall ſay Yea: and then the king of France ſhall receive the ſaid king and earl as liegeman by faith and mouth, ſaving any other his right. And in this manner ſhall all future homages be paid. For this cauſe we deliver over for us and for our ſucceſſors, dukes of Guienne, after homages done, letters patent, ſealed with our great ſeal, if the king of France ſhall require it; and with this we promiſe to keep on our faith the peace and concord moſt amicably between the kings of France and the above mentioned kings of England, dukes of Guienne*."

Theſe letters were carried to France by the aforeſa'd lords, and the king of France ordered them to be preſerved in his chancery.

CHAP. XXIV.

ROBERT, COUNT D'ARTOIS, BANISHED FRANCE.

ROBERT, count d'Artois, was the man above all others, who had moſt aſſiſted king Philip to gain poſſeſſion of the crown; he was one of the

* See the copy of the original inſtrument of the homage and the witneſſes to it, in Rymer, anno 1329. Alſo another, of which this in Froiſſart ſeems a copy, ſigned at Eltham, March 31, 1329.

wiſeſt

wiſeſt and greateſt barons in France, of the higheſt birth, being deſcended from kings. His wife was ſiſter german to Philip, whoſe ſpecial companion and friend he had been in all his fortunes; and for the ſpace of three years he managed every thing in France—ſo that nothing was done without his knowledge.

It happened afterward that king Philip took a violent hatred againſt the lord Robert, on account of a ſuit, which was brought before him, that regarded the county of Artois; and the ſaid lord Robert was deſirous of obtaining it by means of a letter that he produced, and which, by all accounts, was forged.

Had he been arreſted in the firſt movements of the king's anger, he would infallibly have been put to death; he therefore thought it prudent to quit the kingdom of France, and go to his nephew, earl John at Namur.

The king ordered his ſiſter, wife of lord Robert, and her two ſons, his nephews, John and Charles, to be arreſted and ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, out of which he ſwore they ſhould never come as long as he lived; and ſince that time, though many ſpoke in their behalf, they had not greater liberty, for which he was afterward much blamed behind his back.

The king, in his warmth, ſent to Raoul, biſhop of Liege, begging of him to challenge and make war upon the earl of Namur, if he did not put away the lord Robert from his court.

The biſhop, who loved exceedingly the king of France, and little reſpected his neighbours, did im-

mediately as the king desired. The earl of Namur was therefore advised to send away the lord Robert, which he did much against his inclinations.

Lord Robert then went to his cousin, the duke of Brabant, who received him with great joy, and gave him every comfort.

As soon as the king of France knew it, he sent to say, that, if he supported him, or suffered him to remain in his territories, he should not have a worse enemy than himself, and that he would oppress him by every means in his power.

The duke, upon this, sent him very privately to Argentau, until he should know in what manner the king would take it.

The king, who had spies every where, was soon informed of what had passed in Brabant; and was so vexed, that he stimulated by money the king of Bohemia, who was cousin german to the duke, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis Juliers, the earl of Bar, the lords of Los and Fauquemont, and many other lords, who where soon allied together against the duke, whom they challenged, and entered his territories near Esbaing. They advanced as far as Hannut, and burnt the country at two different times, according to their pleasure.

The king of France sent with them the earl of Eu, his constable, with a great company of men at arms.

The earl William of Hainault then thought it time to interfere, and sent the countess, his lady, who was sister to king Philip, and the lord of Beaumont,

mont, his brother, to France, to intercede with the king for a reſpite and truce between him and the duke of Brabant.

The king made many difficulties, but at laſt conſented upon condition, that the duke ſhould ſubmit himſelf to whatever he and his council might judge proper for him to do towards the king of France, and towards thoſe lords, who had waged war againſt him.

He was alſo ordered to diſmiſs the lord Robert from his territories within a certain time, which he was forced to perform, though much againſt his will*.

CHAP. XXV.

KING EDWARD TAKES THE CITY OF BERWICK.

YOU have heard related all that paſſed between the Engliſh and Scots, during the three years that the truce laſted :—and for one year more the two nations were at peace. This had not happened before for two hundred years, during which they had been conſtantly at war with each other.

It fell out that king Edward was informed, that the young king David of Scotland, who had married his ſiſter, kept poſſeſſion of Berwick, which of

* For further particulars reſpecting Robert d'Artois, his crimes, trial, &c. ſee the 8th and 10th volumes of the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, &c., where there are three intereſting memoirs concerning him by M. Lancelot, very different from this account of Froiſſart, or rather of John le Bel. They are too long to be inſerted as notes.

right

right belonged to his kingdom, and which king Edward, his anceſtor had held, and the king his father alſo, very peaceably, for a long time afterward. He was alſo informed, that the kingdom of Scotland was dependant on his crown as a fief, and that the young king of Scots, his brother-in-law, had never acknowledged it, or done homage for it.

The king of England therefore ſent ambaſſadors to the king of Scots, to requeſt, that he would withdraw his people from the city of Berwick, and give him poſſeſſion of it, as it was his juſt inheritance and had always appertained to the kings of England his predeceſſors. They alſo ſummoned him to come and do his homage for the kingdom of Scotland, which he ought to hold from the crown of England as a fief.

The king of Scotland took the advice and opinions of his council and chief barons, and made this reply to the ambaſſadors:

'My lords, I and my barons marvel greatly at the claim you have preferred; for we do not find that any of our anceſtors acknowledged the kingdom of Scotland as a fief, or in any ways ſubject to the crown of England, either by homage or otherwiſe: my lord, the king our father, of happy memory, would never do homage to any preceding kings of England, whatever wars may have been made on the ſubject—neither have I any intention or inclination to do it.

'As for the Town of Berwick, king Robert, our father, conquered it from the late king of England by open war, and kept poſſeſſion of it during his life-

time

time as his true heritage—I alſo hope and mean to keep poſſeſſion of it, and ſhall do every thing in my power for that end.

'I ſhall requeſt of you, that you would have the goodneſs to entreat the king, whoſe ſiſter we have married, that he would allow us to enjoy the ſame liberties as our anceſtors have done, and to keep what our father won and held peaceably all his life; and that he would not liſten to any evil councellors; for, if any other prince ſhould wiſh to do us wrong, he ought to aid and defend us, from the love he muſt bear to his ſiſter, our queen.'

The ambaſſadors replied, 'Sir, we have well heard your anſwer, and will report it to the king, our lord, in the manner you have told it to us.'

They then took their leave, and returned to their king, to whom this anſwer was not very agreeable. He ſummoned to a parliament to be holden at London, barons, knights, and councellors, from the chief towns in the kingdom, to have their advice in the preſent ſtate of affairs.

During the term of parliament, the lord Robert of Artois arrived in England, diſguiſed as a merchant. The king received him very kindly, appointed him one of his councellors, and aſſigned to him the earldom of Richmond, which had belonged to his anceſtors *.

When

* This ſeems to be a conſiderable miſtake; for the earldom of Richmond, according to Dugdale, had been in the family of the dukes of Britany a long time.

When the day of the meeting of Parliament came, and the chiefs of the country were aſſembled in London, the king ordered what he had written to the king of Scotland to be read, and the anſwer to it from that king. He then deſired they would give him ſuch advice, that the dignity of his crown might be preſerved.

After they had conſulted together, it appeared to them, that the king could no longer with honour endure the wrongs which the king of Scots did to him; and they offered him ſuch advice, that he immediately gave orders for every preparation to be made, not only to enable him to regain the good town of Berwick, but to penetrate into Scotland with ſo powerful an army, that the king of Scotland ſhould think himſelf happy, if permitted to do his homage, and make ſatisfaction. They added, that they were willing and deſirous to accompany him in this expedition.

The king gave them many thanks for their willingneſs to aſſiſt him, and begged of them to be ready,

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"In the 1ſt of Edward III. John duke of Britany obtained leave to grant the earldom of Richmond, with the caſtle, and likewiſe the caſtle of Bowes, unto Arthur, his brother and heir. On the death of this John, John de Dreux, ſon of Arthur, did homage for this earldom of Richmond.—He died the 16th of May, in the 15th of Edward III. John duke of Britany, and earl of Monfort, ſoon after this event did his homage for it. It continued in this family until John, ſurnamed the Valiant, united himſelf to the king of France, contrary to his allegiance, and forfeited it in the ſecond year of Richard II." DUGDALE's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 46.

and

and properly prepared, according to their different ranks, to meet him at Newcaſtle upon Tyne by a day fixed.

Each returned to his home to make preparations. The king was not idle; and ſent other ambaſſadors to the king of Scotland, his brother-in-law, to give him public notice, and, if he had not altered his mind, to bid him defiance.

The day fixed on drew near; king Edward and all his hoſt came to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, and waited there three days for the rear and followers of his army. The fourth day he advanced with his whole army towards Scotland, and paſſed over the lands of the lords Percy and Neville, who are two great barons in Northumberland, and marched forward to meet the Scots. Lord Roos, lord Mowbray, and lord Liſle, did the ſame.

The king with his army drew towards the town of Berwick; for the king of Scotland had not ſent any other anſwer by the ſecond ambaſſadors, than he did by the firſt; therefore he had been publickly ſummoned, and defied.

The king advanced with his army, and entered Scotland. He was adviſed not to ſtop at Berwick, but to march forward, and burn the country, as his grandfather had done before; he therefore marched and deſtroyed in this excurſion all the plain country, and ruined many towns that were encloſed with dykes and paliſades. He took the ſtrong caſtle of Edinburgh, and placed his own garriſon therein.

He paſſed the ſecond river in Scotland below Dunfermline; and his people over-ran the whole

country as far as Sconc, and deſtroyed the good town of Dunfermline, but touched not the abbey, for the king had ſtrictly forbidden it.

They conquered the country as far as Dundee, and took Dumbarton, a very ſtrong caſtle on the borders of the Highlands, whither the king, and the queen, his conſort, had retired*. No one dared to oppoſe the Engliſh; for the Scots had all retreated to the foreſts of Jedworth, which are im-

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* "Edward appears to have been at Belford on his march northward, 7th May; Fædera, tom. iv. p. 557. So that it is probable, that, in a day or two after, he came to Berwick. Froiſſart relates, that Edward leaving Baliol with his forces before Berwick, invaded Scotland, waſted the country, penetrated as far north as Dundee, and from thence marched acroſs the iſland to the neighbourhood of Dumbarton; that he took the caſtles of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, and placed garriſons in them; and that, after having employed ſix months in this expedition, he returned to the ſeige of Berwick. This ſtory has been tranſcribed by divers hiſtorians who could not diſtinguiſh when Froiſſart was well informed, and when not.

"Froiſſart has placed in 1333 events, which, as to many particulars, occurred afterwards. This *courſe of ſix months* is an impoſſibility; for Edward did not come to the ſeige of Berwick before May, and the place ſurrendered on the 20th of July. Beſides, it appears from the Fædera, tom. iv. pp. 558, 564, that Edward was in the neighbourhood of Berwick May 27th and 30th, the 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 26th June, and the 2d, 6th, and 15th of July: ſo that he never could have been three weeks abſent; and, indeed, it is not probable that he was ever abſent from the ſeige. An invaſion of Scotland at that time could have ſerved no purpoſe of conqueſt, and, by dividing the army, might have had fatal conſequences." Lord HAILES' Annals.

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penetrable, except to thoſe well acquainted with the country. They had carried all their moveables with them, and placed them in ſafety, and held not what was left behind of any account.

It was not to be wondered that the Scots were thus diſmayed; their king was but about fifteen years old; the earl of Moray was ſtill younger; and a youth, named William Douglas, nephew of him who was killed in Spain, was of a ſimilar age: ſo that the kingdom of Scotland was deſtitute of good captains.

When the king of England had run over and ſcoured the plains of Scotland, and had remained there for three months, not ſeeing any come to oppoſe him, he garriſoned many caſtles which he had taken, and thought by their means to make war upon all that remained. He then made a handſome retreat towards Berwick, and in his way he took the caſtle of Dalkeith, which was the patrimony of the earl of Douglas, ſituate five miles from Edinburgh; he appointed a governor, with a good garriſon. By ſhort marches he came before the good town of Berwick, which is ſituate at the end of Northumberland, at the entrance into Scotland.

The king ſurrounded it on every ſide, and ſaid he would never quit the ſpot, until he had reduced it, or the king of Scotland came to force him to raiſe the ſiege at the head of his army. It was well ſupplied with proviſion, and had a good garriſon of men at arms from the king of Scotland, and, beſides, was partly ſurrounded by an arm of the ſea.

There were aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes every day before the walls of the town, for thoſe of the garriſon refuſed to ſurrender themſelves unconditionally, expecting ſuccour to arrive, in which, however, they were diſappointed.

True it is that ſome Scottiſh knights formed an expedition to attack the Engliſh camp in the evenings, or before day-break; but they made little impreſſion, for the Engliſh army was ſo much on it's guard, that the Scots could not make any attack with effect, or without loſs of men.

When thoſe who were within the town ſaw that they had not any hopes of aſſiſtance, that their proviſion began to fail, and that they were ſo cloſely beſieged by ſea and land that nothing could enter, they began to treat with the king; who was prayed to grant them a truce for one month, upon condition, that, if within that time, neither king David, their lord, nor any one from him, ſhould come with a ſufficient force to raiſe the ſiege, they ſhould ſurrender up the town, upon having their lives and fortunes ſpared, and the ſoldiers liberty to return whither they would into their own country, without loſs or hindrance.

This treaty, however, was not immediately concluded, for the king was deſirous of avoiding any conditions, to puniſh thoſe who had held out ſo obſtinately againſt him: at laſt he was perſuaded to it, by the advice of his council, and particularly of the lord Robert d'Artois, who took a great deal of pains to bring it about. He had accompanied the king in this expedition; and being always near his per-

perſon, had often told him, from the opinions of ſeveral lawyers, that the crown of France belonged to him by right of blood, as he was the immediate heir, by his mother, to the laſt king. The lord Robert was anxious for the king's leaving Scotland, in hopes that he would carry his arms into France.

By theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches the king was induced to conſent to the ratification of the treaty of Berwick.

The Berwickers made the king of Scotland and his council acquainted with their diſtreſsful ſituation, who, after much conſideration, could not find out any means to ſend them ſuccours or aſſiſtance: the town of Berwick was therefore ſurrendered to the king at the end of the month, as well as the caſtle, which was very handſome and ſtrong, and ſtood without the town.

The marſhals of the army took poſſeſſion of them both, in the name of the king. The citizens then came out to ſwear homage and fidelity to king Edward, and to acknowledge, that they held the town from him.

The king made his public entry into Berwick with great pomp, and ſounding of trumpets, and tarried there twelve days. He appointed as governor thereof a knight called ſir Edward Balliol, with whom he left, when he quitted Berwick, many young knights and eſquires, to aſſiſt him in keeping the conqueſts he had made from the Scots, and to guard the frontiers.

The king and all his people then returned towards London, and he gave full liberty for every man to go

to his own home. He himſelf went to Windſor, where he chiefly reſided, and the lord Robert accompanied him, who never ceaſed, day or night, from telling him how juſt his right was to the crown of France; to which the king opened a willing ear, and thought of it with much ſatisfaction.

Thus ended the king's expedition againſt the king of Scots. He deſtroyed the greateſt part of the country, and took many more forts than his people had achieved from the Scots for a long time. He placed in them ſeveral able and expert knights and eſquires; among whom were ſir William Montacute and ſir Walter Manny, who made many ſevere ſkirmiſhes and attacks upon the Scots, and according to cuſtom, were always victorious.

In order the better to ſecure their entrance and retreat from Scotland, and to haraſs the country, ſir William Montacute fortified the tower of Roxburgh, upon the borders of Scotland, and made it a ſtrong caſtle, able to reſiſt any attack. He gained ſo much favour by his enterpriſes, that the king created him earl of Saliſbury, and married him to a noble and honourable lady. The lord of Manny alſo, who was knighted on this expedition, was nominated a privy counſellor, and highly advanced at court.

True it is, that the Scots did greatly diſturb the Engliſh: they kept themſelves in the wild parts of Scotland among marſhes and foreſts, where no one could follow them, and haraſſed the Engliſh ſo conſtantly, that there were ſkirmiſhes almoſt every day; in one of which the earl of Saliſbury loſt an eye, by his too great boldneſs.

In

In the ſame foreſts, where the Scots now hid themſelves, the gallant king Robert had been forced to ſeek refuge, when king Edward, grandfather to the preſent king, over-ran and conquered the Scottiſh realm: and many times was he ſo hard driven, that he could find none in his kingdom who dared, to lodge him, or give him ſuccour from any caſtle or fortreſs, through fear of this king Edward.

The gallant Robert, after the king had returned to England, collected his people together where he could find them, and reconquered his caſtles, fortreſſes, and cities, even as far as Berwick; ſome by force of arms, others by fair ſpeeches, and through affection.

When king Edward heard of this he was ſorely vexed, and ſummoned his hoſt, and never ceaſed until he had diſcomfited the Scots, and reconquered the kingdom.

Thus it happened between theſe two kings: and I have heard it related, that king Robert recovered his kingdom five different times.

In ſuch manner did theſe two kings, who were looked upon as the two moſt gallant knights of their time, bear themſelves, until the death of king Edward, at Burgh on the Sands.

When he perceived he could not recover, he called to him his eldeſt ſon, who was afterward king, and made him ſwear, in preſence of all his barons, by the Saints, that, as ſoon as he ſhould be dead, he would have his body boiled in a large cauldron until the fleſh ſhould be ſeparated from the bones; that he would have the

fleſh buried and the bones preſerved; and that every time the Scots ſhould rebel againſt him, he would ſummon his people, and carry with him the bones of his father; for he believed moſt firmly, that, as long as his bones ſhould be carried againſt the Scots, thoſe Scots would never be victorious. His ſon, however, did not fulfil what he had ſworn; but had his father carried to London and buried—for which much evil befel him, as you have before heard.

CHAP. XXVI.

KING PHILIP OF FRANCE AND SEVERAL OTHER KNIGHTS PUT ON THE CROSS.

ABOUT this time king Philip of France quitted Paris accompanied by the king of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and a numerous company of dukes, earls, and other lords—for he kept a ſumptuous table, and at a great expence—to viſit his kingdom. After paſſing through Burgundy, he came to Avignon, where he was moſt honourably received by pope Benedict, and by all the college of cardinals, who treated him as magnificently as they could. He remained ſome time with the holy father and the cardinals, and was lodged at Villeneuve, out of the town.

The king of Arragon came alſo at this time to the court of Rome, to witneſs theſe entertainments.

There were great feaſts and ſolemnities at their meeting, and they all remained there the whole of Lent.

Whilſt

Whilſt they were there, certain intelligence came to the court of Rome, that the enemies of God were marching in great force againſt the Holy Land, and had reconquered almoſt the whole kingdom of Raſſe*, and taken the king, who had been baptiſed, and put him to the moſt cruel death. The infidels alſo threatened the holy church and all Chriſtendom.

The holy father preached, on the ſacred feſtival of Good Friday, before theſe two kings, on the ſufferings of our Saviour, and exhorted them greatly to put on the croſs againſt theſe Saracens. The king of France was ſo much affected, that he took the croſs, and entreated the pope to grant him his conſent, which he did, and confirmed it by given him abſolution for all ſins and faults, if confeſſed and truly repented of, and the ſame to all thoſe who ſhould accompany him in this holy expedition.

The kings of Bohemia and Navarre, and the king of Arragon, put on the croſs, as well as a number of dukes, barons, and other nobles, who were there: the cardinals of Naples, of Perigord, of Oſtia, and the cardinal Blanc, adopted it alſo.

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* *Query*, if not Raſcie, Raſcia, which is a country in Turkey in Europe. It is the northern part of Servia, and takes it's name from the river which empties itſelf into the Morawe. Its principal towns are Belgrade, Semendrie, and Galombaz. This country had formerly kings of it's own. AUDRAN, Dic. Geo.

Raſſe may alſo be miſtaken for *Lyas*, in Armenia, where Caſſanus, king of Tharſis, and ſeven thouſand Chriſtians, were ſlain by the Pagans about this period. BARNES, p. 56.

The croiſade was preached and publiſhed over the world, which gave much pleaſure to many, eſpecially to thoſe who wiſhed to ſpend their time in feats of arms, and who at that time did not know where otherwiſe to employ themſelves.

After the king of France and the lords above named had paſſed a conſiderable time with the pope, and had ſettled and managed the buſineſs, they took their leave and departed.

The king of Arragon returned into his own country. The king of France and his company went to Montpelier, where they remained a long time. During his ſtay there king Philip completed the peace which was in agitation between the kings of Arragon and Majorca.

After having finiſhed this, he ſet out on his return towards Paris, by ſhort days journeys, and at much expence, viſiting his towns and caſtles, of which he had great numbers. He paſſed through the provinces of Auvergne, Berry, Beauce, and Gatinois, and came to Paris, where he was received with much joy.

The kingdom of France was at that time powerful, rich, and compact, the inhabitants at their eaſe, and wealthy, and no talk of war.

This croiſade, which the noble king of France had undertaken to lead beyond ſea, and of which he had declared himſelf the chief, was followed by many lords, and by ſome of them through devotion.

King Philip made the greateſt and moſt magnificent preparations that were ever ſeen to paſs the ſeas;—thoſe of the time of Godfrey of Boulogne,

or any others, were not to be compared to them. He had engaged and placed in the different ports of Marſeilles, Aigueſmortes, and Narbonne, and in the neighbourhood of Montpelier, ſuch a quantity of ſhips, carracks, galleys, and barges, as might tranſport forty thouſand men at arms and their ſtores. He laid in a large ſtock of biſcuit, wines, freſh water, ſalt meat, and all other proviſions, in ſuch plenty, that there might be ſufficient, even if they remained there three years.

He ſent ambaſſadors to the king of Hungary, who was a right valiant man, to requeſt, that he would make himſelf ready, and open his country to the pilgrims of God.

The king of Hungary conſented to it, and very willingly returned him anſwer, that he was prepared.

In the ſame manner the king ſent information of it to the king of Cyprus, Hugh de Luſignan, and to the king of Sicily, who made to this end the neceſſary preparations.

The king ſent alſo to the Venetians, to beg that their frontiers might be opened, and ſufficient guards and proviſions collected, which they complied with, as did the Genoeſe, and all that coaſt. He diſpatched the great prior of France into the iſland of Rhodes to make preparations there; and the knights of St. John made an agreement with the Venetians for them to victual the iſland of Candia, which was under their dependence. In ſhort, there were proper proviſions made every where to receive the

the pilgrims of God; and upwards of three hundred thouſand perſons put on the croſs, to undertake this holy voyage beyond ſea.

CHAP. XXVII.

KING EDWARD IS ADVISED BY HIS COUNCIL TO MAKE WAR AGAINST KING PHILIP OF FRANCE.

AT the time when nothing but this croiſade was talked of, the lord Robert d'Artois was in England, very near the king's perſon, whom he was continually adviſing to make war upon the king of France for wrongfully withholding his inheritance.

The king held many councils upon this ſubject, and conſulted with his moſt ſpecial and privy counſellors by what means he could maintain his right, for he would gladly amend himſelf if he knew how. The queſtion was argued, ſuppoſing he ſhould demand his right, and it was refuſed, as it was probable it would be, and he afterwards to ſit quiet, and not ſupport his claim, he would be more blamed than if he had never moved in it. He ſaw clearly, that it was impoſſible for him, and all the force he could bring from his own country, to ſubdue ſuch a great kingdom as that of France, if he did not obtain powerful friends and aſſiſtance in the Empire, and in other parts, by means of his money; he therefore frequently demanded of his privy council what opinion they had on this ſubject.

They

They at length gave this as their unanimous anſwer.—'Dear ſir, the queſtion is of ſuch importance, that we dare not adviſe you definitively upon it but recommend to you, dear ſir, to ſend ambaſſadors ſufficiently inſtructed to the gallant earl of Hainault, whoſe daughter you have married, and to lord John, his brother, who has before ſo valiantly aſſiſted you, to entreat their lordſhips to adviſe you how to act, for in ſuch a matter they are better informed than we can be: if they agree with you in opinion, they will give you counſel who are the lords moſt able to aſſiſt you, and alſo point out the moſt proper means of gaining them to your intereſt.'

The king agreed to this propoſal, and entreated the Biſhop of Lincoln to undertake this journey through affection to him, and deſired two knights bannerets, and two counſellors learned in the law to accompany him on the embaſſy.

They ſet out as ſoon as they could, embarked and landed at Dunkirk; whence they rode through Flanders to Valenciennes, where they found William earl of Hainault ſo ſorely afflicted with the gout and gravel that he could not move. The lord John, his brother, was there alſo, by whom they were much feaſted: and to them they explained the object of their miſſion. Upon which the gallant earl ſaid,

'I vow to God, if the king can ſucceed in this, I ſhall be much rejoiced; for as you may eaſily imagine,—I feel more intereſted for him who has married my daughter than for king Philip, who has never

never done any thing for me although I am married to his ſiſter. He alſo prevented, clandeſtinely, the marriage of the young duke of Brabant with my daughter; on which account I will not fail my dearly beloved ſon, the king of England, in any reſpect, if his council ſhould adviſe the undertaking of it. I will alſo give him every aid, as will John, my brother, now preſent, who has before aſſiſted him. But know, that you muſt ſeek for other ſupporters more powerful than we are, for Hainault is too ſmall a territory to meaſure itſelf with the kingdom of France, and England lies too far off to be of help to it.'

'Certainly, ſir, you have given us very excellent advice, and teſtified great love and good will, for which, in the name of our lord and king, I return you my thanks,' replied the biſhop of Lincoln: 'but, dear ſir, tell us the names of thoſe lords that you think can beſt help our maſter, that we may report them to him.'

'Upon my ſoul,' replied the earl, 'I cannot think of any lords, that can ſo powerfully aſſiſt him as the duke of Brabant, his couſin german, the biſhop of Liege, the duke of Gueldres, who married his ſiſter, the Archbiſhop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, ſir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the lord of Fauquemont:—theſe are the lords, that can in a ſhort time furniſh greater numbers of men at arms than any I know;—they are very warlike themſelves, and, if they chooſe, can eaſily make up ten thouſand men completely armed and equipped; but you muſt give them money before hand, for they

they are men who love to gain wealth. If by your means the king, my ſon-in-law, and your lord, could ally himſelf with the lords whom I have juſt mentioned, and where on this ſide of the ſea, he might paſs the river Oiſe to ſeek king Philip, and offer him battle.

The ambaſſadors returned to London with the anſwer they had received, which when king Edward heard, it gave him much pleaſure and comfort.

News of what was going forward was ſoon carried to France, and by degrees magnified, ſo that king Philip grew very indifferent to this croiſade which had been preached, and of which he had undertaken to be the chief. He countermanded his officers (who were making very great preparations), and gave them directions not to proceed further, until he ſhould ſee upon what footing the king of England meant to act, as he was inceſſantly employed in aſſembling men at arms.

The king of England ordered ten knights bannerets, and forty knights bachelors, in company with the biſhop of Lincoln, who was a right valiant man, to croſs the ſea, and to go ſtraight to Valenciennes, to treat with thoſe lords of the Empire, whom the earl of Hainault had named, and to act as he and his brother John might adviſe.

When they were arrived at Valenciennes, all were emulous of the ſtate they ſhould hold, and ſpared no expenſes; for if the king of England had been there in perſon, they could not have done more, by which they gained great renown and reputation.

There were among them many young knights bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth ſo that they could not ſee with it. It was ſaid they had made a vow to ſome ladies in their country, that they would never uſe but one eye until they had perſonally performed ſome deeds of arms in France; nor would they make any reply to whatever queſtions were aſked them; ſo that all marvelled at their ſtrange demeanour.

After they had been ſufficiently feaſted and honoured at Valenciennes, the Biſhop of Lincoln and the greater number of them drew towards the Duke of Brabant by the advice of the earl of Hainault.

The duke treated them magnificently, and agreed afterward to promiſe his ſupport and aſſiſtance to the king of England, to whom he was couſin german, with all the means in his power, and to allow him to enter and quit his territories, armed or diſarmed, as often as he pleaſed. He had alſo promiſed, by the advice of his counſel, and for a round ſum of florins, that if the king of England, his couſin, would defy the king of France, and enter his territories with a ſufficient force, and could obtain the aid of the lords before mentioned, he would defy him alſo, and join him with a thouſand armed men.

The ambaſſadors then returned to Valenciennes: —by their negotiations and gold, they prevailed upon the duke of Gueldres, brother-in-law to king Edward, the marquis of Juliers for himſelf, and for the archbiſhop of Cologne, and his brother Waleran, and lord of Fauquemont, to come to Valenciennes, to treat with them before the earl of Hainault,

Hainault, who was unable to ride on horſeback; and before his brother John. They managed matters ſo well, by a plentiful diſtribution of florins among the principals and others, that they agreed to defy the king of France, and to go with the king of England whenever and wherever he pleaſed, and that each would ſerve him with a certain number of men at arms, with helmets ſurmounted with creſts.

Now is the time come when we muſt ſpeak of lances, ſwords, and coats of mail; and I inform you, that the above named lords promiſed the ambaſſadors from England, that they would ally themſelves with the lords on the other ſide of the Rhine, who had the power to bring a large number of men at arms, but they muſt firſt be furniſhed with the means to fix them.

Theſe lords from Germany then took their leave, and departed to their own country; the Engliſh lords remained ſome little time longer with the earl of Hainault. They ſent many meſſages to Raoul, biſhop of Liege, and would moſt willingly have drawn him over to their own party; but he would do nothing againſt the king of France, whoſe liegeman he was, and to whom he had ſworn fealty.

The king of Bohemia was not ſent to, becauſe they knew he was ſo connected with the king of France, by the marriage of John duke of Normandy with the lady Bona, daughter of that king, that he would never act againſt him.

CHAP. XXVIII.

JACOB VON ARTAVELD GOVERNS ALL FLANDERS.

DURING theſe times of which I am ſpeaking, there were great diſſenſions between the earl of Flanders and the Flemings; for they would not obey him; nor could he venture to remain in Flanders without great danger to himſelf.

There was in Ghent a man that had formerly been a brewer of metheglin, called Jacob von Artaveld, who had gained ſo much popular favour and power over the Flemings, that every thing was done according to his will. He commanded in all Flanders, from one end to the other, with ſuch authority, that no one dared to contradict his orders.

Whenever he went out into the city of Ghent, he was attended by three or four ſcore armed men on foot, among whom were two or three that were in his ſecrets; if he met any man, whom he hated or ſuſpected, he was inſtantly killed; for he had ordered thoſe who were in his confidence to remark whenever he ſhould make a particular ſign on meeting any perſon, and to murder him directly without fail, or waiting further orders, of whatever rank he might be. This happened very frequently; ſo that many principal men were killed; and he was ſo dreaded, that no one dared to ſpeak againſt his actions, or ſcarce to contradict him, but all were forced to entertain him handſomely.

When

When his companions before mentioned had conducted him to his hotel, each went home to his dinner, and immediately after returned to the ſtreet before his houſe, where they remained making a noiſe and brawling, until he pleaſed to come out and go round the town, to paſs his time and amuſe himſelf; and thus was he eſcorted until he choſe to go to ſupper.

Each of theſe ſoldiers had four Flemiſh groats a day, as wages, and for his expenſes, which he had paid to him very regularly every week. He had alſo in every town and caſtlewick, through Flanders, ſerjeants and ſoldiers in his pay, to execute his orders, and ſerve him as ſpies, to find out if any were inclined to rebel againſt him, and to give him information.

The inſtant he knew of any ſuch being in a town, he was baniſhed or killed without delay, and none were ſo great as to be exempted, for ſo early did he take ſuch meaſures to guard himſelf.

At the ſame time he baniſhed all the moſt powerful knights and eſquires from Flanders, and ſuch citizens from the principal towns, as he thought were in the leaſt favourable to the earl; ſeized one half of their rents, giving the other moiety for the dower of their wives and ſupport of their children. Thoſe that were baniſhed, of which the number was very conſiderable, reſided for the moſt part at St. Omer, and were called *les avolez.*

To ſpeak the truth, there never was in Flanders, or in any other country, count, duke, or prince, who had ſuch perfect command as Jacob von Arta-

veld. He collected the rents, the duties on wines, and other taxes, belonging to the earl, though they were the earl's lawful revenue, in whatever part of the county of Flanders he might reſide; he raiſed alſo extraordinary ſubſidies, which he ſpent and gave away, without rendering account to any one. When he ſaid he was in want of money, he was immediately believed—and well it was for them who did believe him—for it was perilous to contradict him; and if he wiſhed to borrow money of any of the citizens, there was no one that dared to refuſe him.

The ambaſſadors from England, and who kept ſuch honourable ſtate at Valenciennes, as you have before heard, thought among themſelves, that it would give their king great comfort and aſſiſtance in what he was anxious to undertake, if they could get the aid of the Flemings, who at that time were ill with the king of France, and with the earl their lord. They conſulted the earl of Hainault on the ſubject; who told them, that, in truth, it would be the greateſt ſupport they could get; but he did not ſee how it could be obtained, unleſs they previouſly could win the friendſhip of Jacob von Artaveld.

They replied, that they would directly do all in their power to obtain it, and ſoon after ſet out from Valenciennes for Flanders, by three or four different roads.

One party of them went to Bruges, another to Ypres; but the largeſt went to Ghent, where they ſpent ſuch ſums, that gold and ſilver ſeemed

to

to fly out of their hands. They ſought friendſhip from all, promiſed largely to ſome, flattered others, where they thought it would have more effect in gaining their ends. The biſhop of Lincoln however, and his companions, acted their part ſo well in Ghent, that, by fine ſpeeches and otherwiſe, they acquired the friendſhip of Jacob von Artaveld, and great favour in the city, particularly with an old knight who lived in Ghent, where he was much beloved: he was called my lord le Courtiſien *, was a banneret, and was looked upon as the moſt gallant knight and warlike man in all Flanders, who had ſerved his lords right valiantly.

This lord having kept company with the Engliſh lords, and much honoured them; (and every loyal knight ſhould honour ſtrangers;) he was criminally accuſed to the king of France for theſe diſtinctions he had paid the Engliſh, who inſtantly ſent an order to the earl of Flanders, commanding him by ſome means or other to get hold of this knight, and to cut off his head.

The earl, who dared not refuſe obedience to this command, managed ſo, that Courtiſien, coming to the place which he had appointed, was immediately arreſted and beheaded. This cauſed infinite grief to many, for he was much beloved by the gentry of the country, and it created much ill will againſt the earl.

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* "M. de Siger a nobleman of Cōurtray; by alluſion to his lands of Contreſſin, commonly ſtiled the lord of Courteſy." CARTE, vol. ii. p. 429.

The Engliſh lords were ſo active in Flanders, that Jacob von Artaveld aſſembled ſeveral times the chiefs of the principal cities to confer with them on the buſineſs they were come about, as well as on the franchiſes and friendſhip which the king of England offered to them.

The matter being fully diſcuſſed, was brought to this concluſion; the chiefs of the principal towns gave their conſent that the king of England and his army might paſs through Flanders whenever he pleaſed; but as they were ſo much obliged to the king of France, they could not annoy him, or enter his kingdom, without ſuffering too heavy a penalty in a large ſum of florins, and entreated the ambaſſadors to be ſatisfied with this anſwer for the preſent. They returned to Valenciennes much pleaſed with what they had done. They frequently informed the king, their maſter, how things were going; and he ſent them large ſums of money, as well for their own expences, as to diſtribute among the lords of Germany, who did not wiſh for any thing more agreeable.

About this time the gallant William earl of Hainault died, on the ſixth day of June 1337. He was buried in the church of Cordeliers, at Valenciennes;—the biſhop of Cambray performed the funeral ſervice, and ſung the maſs. There was a great attendance of dukes, earls, and barons, for he was exceedingly honoured during his life by all ranks of men.

After his deceaſe, the lord William his ſon, entered upon the countries of Hainault, Holland, and

and Zealand: he had to wife the daughter of duke John of Brabant; her name was Joan, heireſs of the rich and valuable lands of Binch*.

The lady Joan, her mother, went and reſided at the monaſtery of Fontenelles upon the Scheld, where ſhe paſſed her days in a devout and charitable manner.

CHAP. XXIX.

CERTAIN NOBLES OF FLANDERS DEFEND THE ISLAND OF CADSANT AGAINST THE ENGLISH.

KING Philip, informed of theſe alliances, and of the influence which the king of England had acquired on that ſide of the water, would moſt willingly have attached the Flemings to his party; but Jacob von Artaveld had ſo entirely ſubjected them, that none dared to act contrary to his will: even the earl, their lord, could not remain there in ſafety, and had ſent his wife, and Lewis his ſon, into France. However, certain knights and eſquires in garriſon on the iſland of Cadſant, which lies between the havens of Sluys and Fluſhing, among whom were ſir Dutres de Halluyn, ſir John de Rhodes, ſir Giles, ſon of the lord de l'Eſtrief, kept poſſeſſion of it as lords paramount, and defended the paſſage. They made war underhand upon the Engliſh, of which the lords that were in

* A town in the Low Countries, three leagues from Mons, and four from Maubeuge.

Hainault

Hainault had information, and alſo, that if they paſſed that way into England, they might be encountred, the conſequences of which would be diſagreeable to them. Notwithſtanding this, they rode over the country of Flanders according to their pleaſure, and to all the large towns; but they were indebted for this to Jacob von Artaveld, who ſhowed them every honour and ſupport.

Theſe lords went afterward to Dordrecht, where they embarked to croſs the ſea, and to avoid the paſſage of the iſland of Cadſant, where the aforeſaid knights and Flemings were in garriſon, under the king of France and earl of Flanders, as has been already related.

The Engliſhmen returned in the beſt manner, and as privately as they could, to their own country, and to king Edward, who was right glad to ſee them, and happy in the ſucceſs of their miſſion. When he heard how the garriſon of Cadſant haraſſed his people, he ſaid he would ſhortly ſettle that buſineſs, and immediately ordered the earl of Derby, ſir Walter Manny, and ſome other Engliſh knights and eſquires, to make themſelves ready. They collected a number of Men at arms and archers, and embarked them in veſſels on the Thames at London: there might be ſix hundred men at arms and two thouſand archers.

When they were all on board, they weighed anchor, and with that tide came to Graveſend, where they lay that firſt night. The next day they weighed and came to Margate. At the third tide, they hoiſted and ſet their ſails, and took to the deep,

and

and paſſed over to Flanders; when, having aſſembled and properly arranged their veſſels, they approached near to Cadſant.

CHAP. XXX.

THE BATTLE OF CADSANT, BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FLEMINGS, ATTACHED TO THE EARL OF FLANDERS.

WHEN the Engliſh ſaw the town of Cadſant, whither they were bending their courſe to attack thoſe that were within it, they conſidered, that, as the wind and tide were in their favour, in the name of God and St. George they would run cloſe up to it.

They ordered the trumpets to ſound, and each made himſelf quickly ready; they ranged their veſſels, and placing the archers on the prows, made full ſail for the town.

The ſentinels and guards at Cadſant had plainly perceived the approach of this large fleet, and taking it for granted that it muſt be Engliſh, had already armed and placed themſelves upon the dykes and the ſands, with their banners in their proper poſition before them. They had alſo created a number of knights upon the occaſion, as many as ſixteen: their numbers might be about five thouſand, taking all together, very valiant knights and bachelors, as they proved by their deeds. Among them were ſir Guy of Flanders, a good knight, but a baſtard*,

* Guy de Rickenburg, baſtard brother to the earl of Flanders. CARTE.

who

who was very anxious that all in his train ſhould do their duty; ſir Dutres de Halluyn, ſir John de Rhodes, ſir Giles de l'Eſtrief, ſir Simon and ſir John de Bouquedent, who were then knighted, and Peter d'Aglemouſtier, with many other bachelors and eſquires, valiant men at arms. There was no parley between them, for the Engliſh were as eager to attack as the Flemings were to defend themſelves.

The archers were ordered to draw their bows ſtiff and ſtrong, and to ſet up their ſhouts; upon which thoſe that guarded the haven were forced to retire, whether they would or not, for this firſt diſcharge did much miſchief, and many were maimed and hurt. The Engliſh barons and knights then landed, and with battle-axes, ſwords, and lances, combated their enemies.

Many gallant deeds of proweſs and courage were done that day:—the Flemings fought valiantly, and the Engliſh attacked them in all the ſpirit of chivalry.

The gallant earl of Derby proved himſelf a good knight, and advanced ſo forward at the firſt aſſault, that he was ſtruck down: and then the lord of Manny was of eſſential ſervice to him; for, by his feats of arms, he covered him and raiſed him up, and placed him out of danger, crying, 'Lancaſter for the earl of Derby!'

They then cloſed with each other;—many were wounded; but more of the Flemings than of the Engliſh; for the Engliſh archers made ſuch continual diſcharges, from the time they landed, that they did them much damage.

The battle was very ſevere and fierce before the town of Cadſant, for the Flemings were good men,

and

and expert in arms; the earl had ſelected and placed them there to defend the paſſage againſt the Engliſh, and they were deſirous of performing their duty in every reſpect, which they did.

Of the barons and knights of England, there were, firſt, the earl of Derby, ſon of Henry of Lancaſter, ſirnamed Wryneck; the earl of Suffolk, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Lewis Beauchamp, lord William, ſon of the earl of Warwick, the lord William Beauclerk, ſir Walter Manny, and many others, who moſt vigorouſly aſſaulted the Flemings.

The combat was very ſharp and well fought, for they were engaged hand to fiſt; but at length the Flemings were put to the rout, and more than three thouſand killed, as well at the haven as in the ſtreets and houſes.

Sir Guy, the baſtard, of Flanders, was taken priſoner. Of the killed were, ſir Dutres de Halluyn, ſir John of Rhodes, the two brothers Bouquecent, ſir Giles de l'Eſtrief, and more than twenty ſix other knights and eſquires.

The town was taken and pillaged: and when every thing was put on board the veſſels with the priſoners, it was burnt. The Engliſh returned without accident to England.

The king made the lord Guy of Flanders pledge his troth, that he would remain a priſoner; but in the courſe of the Year he turned to the Engliſh, and did his homage and fealty to the king.

CHAP. XXXI.

KING EDWARD MAKES GREAT ALLIANCES IN THE EMPIRE.

THE news of the diſcomfiture at Cadſant was ſoon ſpread abroad;—the Flemings ſaid, that they were not ſorry for it, as the earl had placed that garriſon there without their conſent or advice; nor was Jacob von Artaveld diſpleaſed at the event. He inſtantly ſent over ambaſſadors to king Edward, recommending himſelf to his grace with his whole heart and faith.

He ſignified to the king, that it was his opinion he ſhould immediately croſs the ſea, and come to Antwerp, by which means he would acquit himſelf towards the Flemings, who were very anxious to ſee him; and he imagined, if he were on that ſide of the water, his affairs would go on more proſperouſly, and to his greater advantage.

The king of England, upon this, made very great preparations; and when the winter was over, he embarked, accompanied by many earls, barons, and knights, and came to the city of Antwerp, which at that time was held for the duke of Brabant: multitudes came thither to ſee him, and witneſs the great ſtate and pomp in which he lived.

He ſent to the duke of Brabant, his couſin, to his brother-in-law, the duke of Guelders, to the marquis of Juliers, the lord John of Hainault, and to all thoſe from whom he expected ſupport and aſſiſtance,

that he ſhould be happy to have ſome converſation with them. They all therefore came to Antwerp between Whitſuntide and St. John's day; and when the king had ſufficiently entertained them, he was eager to know from them when they could enter upon what they had promiſed, and entreated them to make diſpatch; for this was his reaſon of coming to Antwerp; and as he had all his preparations ready, it would be a great loſs to him if they were tardy.

Theſe lords of Germany had a long conſultation together, and finally made this their anſwer.

'Dear ſir, when we came hither it was more for the pleaſure of ſeeing you, than for any thing elſe; we are not yet in a ſituation to give a poſitive anſwer to your demand; but we will return home, and come again to you whenever you pleaſe, and give you ſo full an anſwer, that the matter ſhall not remain with us'.

They fixed upon that day three weeks after St. John's day. The king of England remonſtrated with them upon the great expences and loſs he ſhould be at by their delays, for he thought they would all have been ready with their anſwers by the time he had come thither, and added, that he would never return to England, until he knew what their intentions were.

Upon this the lords departed, and the king remained quietly in the monaſtery of St. Bernard: ſome of his lords ſtaid at Antwerp, to keep him company; the reſt went about the country amuſing them-

themſelves in a magnificent ſtyle, and were well received and feaſted wherever they came.

The duke of Brabant went to Louvain, and made a long ſtay there; thence he ſent (as he had done before) frequently to the king of France, to entreat that he would not pay attention to any reports that were injurious to him, for he ſhould be very ſorry to form any connection or alliance contrary to his intereſts; but the king of England being his couſin german, he could not forbid his paſſing through his country.

The day came when the king expected the anſwers from the above mentioned lords: they ſent excuſes, ſaying, they were not quite ready, neither themſelves nor their men; that he muſt exert himſelf to make the duke of Brabant prepare to act with them, as he was much nearer to France, and ſeemed to them very indifferent in the matter; and that as ſoon as they ſhould for a certainty be informed that the duke was ready, they would put themſelves in motion, and be as ſoon in action as he ſhould be.

Upon this the king of England had a conference with the duke of Brabant, and ſhowed him the anſwers he had received, and begged of him, by his friendſhip and his kindred, that no delay might come from him, for he ſuſpected that he was not warmly inclined to the cauſe, and added, that, if he were ſo cool and indifferent, he much feared he ſhould loſe the aid of theſe German lords.

The duke replied, that he would ſummon his council. After long deliberations, he told the king, that

that he would be ready the moment the buſineſs required it—but that he muſt firſt ſee theſe lords; to whom he wrote, to deſire they would meet him at whatever place was the moſt agreeable to them.

The day for this conference was fixed for the middle of Auguſt, and it was unanimouſly agreed to be held at Halle, on account of the young earl of Hainault, who was to be there, as well as the lord John, his uncle.

When all theſe lords of the Empire were aſſembled in the city of Halle, they had long deliberations together, and ſaid to the king of England, 'Dear ſir, we do not ſee any cauſe for us to challenge the king of France, all things conſidered, unleſs you can procure the conſent of the emperor, and that he will command us ſo to do, on his account, which may eaſily be done; for there is an ordinance of a very old date, ſealed, that no king of France ſhould take and keep poſſeſſion of any thing that belongs to the Empire. Now king Philip has gotten poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Crevecoeur, in Cambreſis, and of Arleux in Artois, as well as the city of Cambray, for which the emperor has good grounds to challenge him through us, if you will have the goodneſs to obtain it from him, in order to ſave our honour.'

The king of England replied, that he would very cheerfully conform himſelf to their advice.

It was then determined, that the marquis of Juliers ſhould go to the emperor, and with him knights and counſellors from the king, and ſome from the duke of Gueldres; but the duke of Bra-

bant would not ſend any; he lent, however, his caſtle of Louvain to the king for his reſidence.

The marquis of Juliers and his company found the emperor at Nuremberg: they obtained by their ſolicitations the object of their miſſion; for the lady Margaret of Hainault whom the lord Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, had married, took great pains and trouble to bring it about.

The marquis was then created an earl, and the duke of Gueldres, who was but an earl was raiſed to the dignity of a duke. The emperor gave a commiſſion to four knights and two counſellors in the law, who were members of his council, inveſting them with powers to make king Edward his vicar over all parts of the Empire; and theſe lords took out ſufficient inſtruments, publicly ſealed and confirmed by the emperor.

CHAP. XXXII.

DAVID, KING OF SCOTLAND, FORMS AN ALLIANCE WITH PHILIP, KING OF FRANCE.

ABOUT this time, the young king David of Scotland, great part of whoſe kingdom was ſeized by the Engliſh, which he could not recover from the power of the king of England, quitted Scotland, with his queen and a few followers. They arrived at Boulogne, and thence came to Paris, where the king magnificently received them, gave them one of his caſtles to reſide in as long as they choſe, and ſupplied them with money for their expences, upon condition that the king of Scot-

land

land would never make peace with the king of England but with his conſent; for the king of France knew well, that king Edward was taking every meaſure to make war upon him*.

The king of France detained the king and queen of Scotland a long time; they had every thing they wanted delivered to them, for but little came from Scotland to ſupport their ſtate. He ſent alſo ambaſſadors to thoſe lords and barons who had remained in Scotland, and were carrying on the war againſt the Engliſh garriſons, offering them aſſiſtance, if they would not conſent to any pacification or truce without his approbation, and that of their king, who had already promiſed and ſworn the ſame.

The Scottiſh lords aſſembled, held a conference on the ſubject, agreed moſt willingly to this requeſt,

os

" In ſuch circumſtances, it became neceſſary to provide a ſafe place of refuge for the young king and his conſort: Malcolm Fleming found means to convey them from the caſtle of Dumbarton into France, where they were honourably entertained†."

† " Whether David II. was conveyed into France, after the battle of Duplin, in 1332, or after the battle of Halidon, 1333, is a queſtion of little importance. Our later authors have decided in favour of 1333, and not without probable reaſons: the chief is, that Baliol, the 23d November, 1332, offered to marry Johanna, the infant conſort of David Bruce; Fæd. tom. iv. pp. 536. 539; which he would not have done, had ſhe been conveyed to France immediately after the battle of Duplin, 12th Auguſt, 1332. This is a more ſpecious argument than any thing drawn from the Chronicle of Froiſſart, where dates and facts are ſtrangely miſplaced and confounded, as the manner is in colloquial hiſtory." Lord Hailes' Annals.

and ſealed and ſwore to what their king had before promiſed.

Thus was this alliance firſt formed between the kings of France and of Scotland, which laſted for many years.

The king of France ſent men at arms into Scotland, to carry on the war under the command of the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, afterward marſhal of France, the lord Garencieres, and many other knights and eſquires.

King Philip imagined, that the Scots would find the Engliſh too much employment at home, for them to be able to croſs the ſea, or if they did, at all events in too ſmall numbers to hurt or moleſt him.

CHAP. XXXIII.

KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND MADE VICAR OF THE EMPIRE OF GERMANY.

WHEN the king of England and the lords, his allies, had quitted the conference at Halle, the king returned to the caſtle of Louvain, which he ſet about preparing for his reſidence; at the ſame time he ſent to his queen, to inform her of his intentions, and that if ſhe would come to him, it would give him much pleaſure, for he ſhould not be able to repaſs the ſea this year. He ſent back many of his knights to guard the country, particularly the borders of Scotland.

While theſe things were going forwards, the Engliſh knights remaining with the king in Brabant,

ſpread themſelves all over the countries of Flanders and Hainault, living moſt ſumptuouſly, and giving princely preſents and entertainments to the lords and ladies, in order to acquire their good will and favour. Their behaviour was ſuch, that they were beloved by thoſe of both ſexes, and even by the common people, who were pleaſed with their ſtate and magnificence.

The marquis of Juliers and his company returned from the Empire about All Saints day; and when he ſent to inform the king of this, he congratulated him on the good ſucceſs of his miſſion.

The king wrote him for anſwer, that he ſhould come to him on the feaſt of Saint Martin, and demanded of the duke of Brabant to name the place where he wiſhed this conference to be holden, who replied at Arques, in the County of Los*, near to his own country. Upon this, the king gave notice of it, that all his allies might be there.

The town-hall of Arques was hung with rich and fine cloths, like to the preſence chamber to the king. His majeſty was ſeated five feet higher than the reſt of the company, and had on his head a rich crown of gold. The letters from the emperor to the king were publicly read, by which the king of England was conſtituted and eſtabliſhed his vicar and lieutenant, and full powers granted to him to do

* The county of Los had formerly its particular counts, and made part of the territories of the biſhopric of Liege; it is comprehended in the French Republic under the name of the *Departement de la Meuſe Inferieure.*

all acts of law and juſtice to every one, in his name, and alſo to coin money in gold and ſilver. Theſe letters commanded all thoſe in the Empire, and all his other ſubjects, to obey his vicar as himſelf, and that they ſhould do fealty and homage to him as vicar of the Empire. Several knights and lords ſwore fealty and homage before him, and ſome took advantage of the opportunity of pleading their cauſes, as if before the emperor, and they were judged as lawfully as if in his preſence.

On this occaſion an ancient ſtatute was renewed and confirmed, which had been made in former times at the court of the emperor; it directed, that any one meaning to hurt or annoy another ſhould ſend him a ſufficient defiance three days before he commited any hoſtile act; and that whoever ſhould act otherwiſe ſhould be degraded as an evil doer.

When all this was completed, the lords took their leave, and gave each other their mutual promiſes to be fully equipped, without delay, three weeks after the feaſt of Saint John, to ſit down before the city of Cambray, which of right belonged to the emperor, but had turned to the French. The lords then ſet out each for his home, and king Edward, as vicar of the Empire, returned to Louvain to his queen, who had lately arrived there with many of the nobility, and well accompanied by ladies and damſels, from England.

The king and queen kept their courts there in great ſtate during all the winter, and cauſed plenty of gold and ſilver coin to be ſtruck at Antwerp.

The

The duke of Brabant, however, was not neglectful in ſending frequent meſſages to king Philip of France by the Lord Lewis de Travehen, his ſpecial counſellor, to excuſe himſelf; for which purpoſe this knight had made many different journeys; and at laſt he was commanded to remain near the perſon of the king, in order to exculpate his maſter, and contradict any reports that might be circulated againſt him. The knight did every thing in his power, and becoming his duty.

CHAP. XXXIV.

KING EDWARD AND HIS ALLIES SEND CHALLENGES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

WINTER was now over, and ſummer come, when the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt approaching, the lords of England and Germany made preparations for undertaking their intended expedition. The king of France alſo made his preparations to meet them; for he was well acquainted with part of what they intended, though he had not yet received any challenge.

King Edward collected his ſtores in England, where he made his armaments ready, and, as ſoon as St. John's day was paſſed, tranſported them acroſs the ſea to Vilvorde*, whither he went himſelf. He made all his people, on their arrival, take houſes in

* A ſmall town in Brabant, between Bruſſels and Mechlin, on the river Senne.

the town; and when this was full, he lodged them in tents and pavilions in the fine meadows along the ſide of the river. He remained thus from Magdalen day until the feaſt of our Lady in September, expecting week after week the arrival of the lords of the Empire, eſpecially the duke of Brabant, for whom all the others were waiting.

When the king of England ſaw that they came not, he ſent ſtrong meſſages to each of them, and cauſed them to be ſummoned to be at the city of Mechlin on St. Giles's day, according to their promiſes, and to give reaſons for their delays.

King Edward was obliged to remain at Vilvorde, where he maintained daily, at his own coſt, full ſixteen hundred men at arms, that had come there from beyond ſea, and ten thouſand archers, without counting the other followers of his army.

This muſt have been a heavy expenſe; not including the large ſums he had given to the German lords, who thus paid him back by fair promiſes; and the great force he was obliged to keep at ſea againſt the Genoeſe, Bretons, Normans, Picards, and Spaniards, whom king Philip ſupported at his coſt, to haraſs the Engliſh, under the command of ſir Hugh Quiriel, ſir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, who were the admirals and conductors of this fleet, to guard the ſtraits and paſſages between England and France; and theſe corſairs only waited for information of the war being commenced, and the Engliſh king, having challenged the king of France as they ſuppoſed he would, to invade England and ravage the country.

The

The lords of Germany, in obedience to the ſummons, came to Mechlin, where, after many debates, they agreed, that the king ſhould be enabled to march in a fortnight, when they would be quite ready; and, that their cauſe might have a better appearance, they determined to ſend challenges to king Philip.

At the head of this defiance was the king of England, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, ſir Robert d'Artois, ſir John of Hainault, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blackenburg, the lord of Fauquemont, ſir Arnold de Bacqueghen, the archbiſhop of Cologne, his brother, ſir Waleran, and all the lords of the empire, who were united as chiefs with the king of England.

Theſe challenges were written and ſealed by all, except the duke John of Brabant, who ſaid he would do his part in proper time and place. They were given in charge to the biſhop of Lincoln, who carried them to Paris, and performed his meſſage ſo juſtly and well, that he was blamed by no one. He had a paſſport granted him to return to his lord, who, as ſaid before, was at Mechlin.

CHAP. XXXV.

SIR WALTER MANNY, AFTER THE CHALLENGES HAD BEEN SENT, MAKES THE FIRST INCURSION INTO FRANCE.

SIR Walter Manny, a week after theſe challenges had been ſent, and when he imagined the king of France had received them, collected about forty lances, on whom he knew he could depend, and rode

rode through Brabant night and day; ſo that he came into Hainault, and entered the wood of Blaton, before any of his followers knew where and why they were thus haſtening: he then told ſome of his intimates, that he had made a promiſe in England, before the nobles and ladies, that he would be the firſt that would enter France, and take ſome caſtle or ſtrong town, and perform ſome gallant deed of arms; and that his intention was to puſh forward as far as Mortaigne, to ſurprize the town, which was a part of the kingdom of France.

Thoſe to whom he thus opened himſelf cheerfully conſented to follow him. They then regirthed their horſes, tightened their armour, and rode in cloſe order: having paſſed through the wood of Blaton, they came at one ſtretch, a little before ſunriſe, to Montaigne, where luckily they found the wicket open.

Sir Walter alighted with ſome of his companions, and having paſſed the wicket in ſilence, and placed there a guard, he then with his pennon marched down the ſtreet before the great tower, but the gate and the wicket were cloſe ſhut.

The watch of the caſtle heard their voice, and ſeeing them from his poſt, began to blow his horn, and to cry out 'Treaſon! treaſon!' This awakened the ſoldiers and inhabitants, but they did not make any ſally from the fort.

Sir Walter, upon this, retreated handſomely into the ſtreet, and ordered thoſe houſes to be ſet on fire that were near the caſtle: full fifty houſes were burnt that morning, and the inhabitants much frightened, as they concluded they muſt all have been

been taken priſoners; but ſir Walter and his company marched away, and came ſtraight to Condé, where they paſſed by the pond and river Haynes taking the road to Valenciennes; leaving which on the right hand, they came to Aveſnes, and took up their quarters in the abbey. They then puſhed forward towards Bouchain, and managed matters ſo well with the governor, that the gates of the caſtle were opened to them: they croſſed a river which empties itſelf into the Scheld, and which riſes near Arleux. Afterward they came to a very ſtrong caſtle, called Thin l'Evêque, that belonged to the biſhop of Cambray, which was ſo ſuddenly ſurpriſed, the governor and his wife were taken in it. Sir Walter placed a ſtrong garriſon there, and made his brother, ſir Giles Manny, governor, who gave much diſturbance to the Cambreſians, as this caſtle was but a ſhort league from the city of Cambray.

When ſir Walter had performed theſe enterpriſes, he returned into Brabant towards the king, his lord, whom he found at Mechlin, and related to him all that he had done.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE FRENCH, AFTER THE CHALLENGES, INVADE ENGLAND.

UPON king Philip's receiving the challenges from king Edward and his allies, he collected men at arms and ſoldiers from all quarters; he ſent the lord Gallois de la Bauſme, a good knight from Savoy, to the city of Cambray, and made him governor thereof,

thereof, in conjunction with ſir Thibault de Marneil and the lord of Roye: they might be, including Spaniards and French, full two hundred lances.

The king ſeized the county of Ponthieu, which the king of England had before held by right of his mother; and he alſo ſent and entreated ſome lords of the Empire, ſuch as the count of Hainault his nephew, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Bar, the biſhop of Metz, the biſhop of Liege, not to commit any hoſtile acts againſt him or his kingdom. The greater part of them anſwered as he could have wiſhed; but the count of Hainault, in a very civil reply, ſaid, that although he ſhould be at all times ready to aſſiſt him or his realm againſt any one, yet, as the king of England made war in behalf of the Empire, as vicar and lieutenant of it, he could not refuſe him aid and aſſiſtance in his country, as he held lands under the Empire.

The king of France appeared ſatisfied with this anſwer, not however laying much ſtreſs on it, as he felt himſelf in ſufficient ſtrength to oppoſe his enemies.

As ſoon as Sir Hugh Quiriel, ſir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, were informed that hoſtilities had commenced, they landed one Sunday morning in the harbour at Southampton, whilſt the inhabitants were at church; Normans, Picards, and Spaniards entered the town, pillaged it, killed many, deflowered maidens and forced wives; and having loaded their veſſels with the booty, they fell down with the tide, and made ſail for the coaſt of Normandy. They landed at Dieppe, and there divided the plunder.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

KING EDWARD BESIEGES THE CITY OF CAMBRAY.

THE king of England from Mechlin went to Bruſſels to ſee the duke of Brabant: his people paſſed by without entering it. There a large body of Germans, at leaſt twenty thouſand men, joined the king, who aſked the duke of Brabant what his intentions were—to go before Cambray, or to deſert his cauſe. The duke replied, that, as ſoon as he ſhould know that Cambray was beſieged, he would come thither with twelve hundred lances of good men at arms; which anſwer pleaſed the king much.

The king took his departure, and lay that night at Nivelle; the next day he came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the young count of Hainault and his uncle, who received him joyfully.

The lord Robert d'Artois was always with the king, and of his privy council. He was attended by ſixteen or twenty great barons and knights from England, whom he carried with him by way of ſtate, and alſo as his council. The biſhop of Lincoln was among them, who was much renowned in this expedition for his wiſdom and valour.

The Engliſh puſhed forward, and lodged themſelves on the roads in the flat countries through which they paſſed, and found proviſion at hand for their money; but ſome paid and others not.

When the king had repoſed himſelf two days at Mons, in Hainault, he came to Valenciennes, which he entered, taking with them but twelve knights.

The

The count of Hainault was already arrived there, accompanied by the lord John, his uncle, the lord of Faguinelles, the lord of Verchin, and the lord of Havereth, with many others, who attended on the perſon of the count, their lord.

The count took the king by the hand, and led him to the great hall, which was properly prepared to receive him, and, as they were aſcending the ſteps, the biſhop of Lincoln, then preſent, raiſed his voice, and ſaid, 'William d'Auſſonne, biſhop of Cambray, I admoniſh you, as proctor on the part of the king of England, vicar of the emperor of Rome, that you conſent to open the gates of the city of Cambray; and if otherwiſe you ſhall do, you will forfeit your lands, and we will enter by force.'

No reply was made, for the biſhop of Cambray was not preſent. The biſhop of Lincoln continued, and ſaid, 'Earl of Hainault, we admoniſh you, on the part of the emperor of Rome, that you come and aſſiſt the king of England, his vicar, before the city of Cambray, with all your forces,'

The earl made anſwer, and ſaid, 'Willingly.' They then entered the hall, and conducted the king to his chamber. Shortly after the ſupper was ſerved up, which was ſumptuous and ſplendid.

The next day the king departed, and came to Haſpre on the Selle. Having halted there two days, till the greater part of his forces had paſſed by, he ſet out and came before Cambray; when, having fixed his quarters oppoſite to it, he ſurrounded with his army the whole city, his forces every day increaſing.

The

The young earl of Hainault came thither with a large body of men, accompanied by his uncle, ſir John, and they took up their quarters near to thoſe of the king. They were followed by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Saunes, the lord of Fauquemont, ſir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and all the other lords of the empire, allies of the king, with their forces.

On the ſixth day after the king and theſe lords had taken their poſition before Cambray, the duke of Brabant arrived with a fine army: there were full nine hundred lances, without counting the other armed men, of whom there were numbers. He took up his quarters at Oſtrenant upon the Scheld, over which a bridge was thrown for the communication of one army with the other.

The duke of Brabant was no ſooner arrived, than he ſent his challenge to the king of France, who was at Compiégne; at which ſir Lewis de Travehen, who had hitherto exculpated him, was ſo confounded, that he would not return into Brabant, but died of grief in France.

During the ſiege of Cambray there were many ſkirmiſhes and combats; ſir John of Hainault, and the lord of Fauquemont, as uſual, made their excurſions together, and burnt and deſtroyed much of the country of Cambreſis.

Theſe lords, with five hundred lances, and a thouſand other men at arms, came to the caſtle of Oiſy, in Cambreſis, and aſſaulted it ſo furiouſly, that it would have been taken, if the knights and eſquires within had not moſt valiantly defended it for the lord

of

of Coucy; ſo that little damage was done, and theſe lords returned to their quarters.

The earl of Hainault and his forces came one Saturday to the gates of St. Quentin, and made a vigorous attack upon them. John Chandos, as yet but an eſquire (of whoſe proweſs this book will ſpeak much), flung himſelf between the barrier and the gate, at the length of a lance, and fought very gallantly with an eſquire of Vermandois, called John de Saint Dizier: each of them performed great deeds of valour; and the Hainaulters got poſſeſſion by force of the barriers. The earl of Hainault and his marſhals, ſir Gerard de Verchin and ſir Henry d'Antoing, were preſent, and advantageouſly poſted, as well as many others, who ventured boldly in the purſuit of honour.

The lords of Beaumont, Fauquemont, Anghien, ſir Walter Manny, with their forces, were at a gate, called Robert's gate, upon which they made a briſk attack; but thoſe of Cambray, and the ſoldiers whom the king of France had ſent thither, defended themſelves with ſo much valour and ſkill, that the aſſailants gained no advantage, but retreated to their quarters well beaten and tired.

The young earl of Namur came to ſerve under the earl of Hainault, according to his requeſt, and ſaid that he would be of their party ſo long as they remained in the empire; but, the moment they entered France, he ſhould go and join the king of France, who had retained him, and entreated him ſo to do. This alſo was the intention of the earl of Hainault, who had commanded his people, that none

none ſhould dare to commit any acts of violence in the kingdom of France under pain of death.

Whilſt the king of England was beſieging the city of Cambray with full forty thouſand men at arms, and preſſing it cloſely by different aſſaults, the king of France aſſembled his forces at Peronne, in the Vermandois.

About this time the king of England called a council of thoſe from his own country, and particularly ſir Robert d'Artois, in whom he had much confidence, and demanded of them, whether it were beſt to enter the kingdom of France, and go to meet his adverſary, or to remain before Cambray, until he ſhould have taken it. The lords of England, and his privy counſellors, ſeeing the city was ſtrong, and well provided with men, proviſion, and artillery, and that it would take ſome time to conquer it—of which, however, they were not well aſſured, for no great deeds of arms had yet been performed—that the winter was faſt approaching, and that they were there at a very great expenſe, gave their opinion, that the king ſhould puſh forward into France; for he could there find plenty of forage, and a greater ſupply of proviſion.

This council was followed; and all the lords were ordered to diſlodge and pack up their tents, pavilions, and baggage. They advanced towards Mont St. Martin, which is upon the borders of France, and they marched very regularly by companies, each lord with his own people.

The earls of Northampton, Glouceſter, and Suffolk, were the marſhals of the Engliſh hoſt, and the earl of Warwick was the conſtable of England.

They eaſily paſſed the river Scheld, not far from Mount St. Martin, for it is not very wide at that place.

When the earl of Hainault had accompanied the king of England as far as the boundaries of the Empire, ſo that if he paſſed the Scheld he would be in the kingdom of France, he took his leave, ſaying he would not advance further with him at this time; for as he had been ſent to, and his aid requeſted by king Philip, his uncle, whoſe ill-will he wiſhed not to incur, he would go ſerve him in France, as he had ſerved the king of England in the Empire. The king replied, 'God aſſiſt you.'

The earls of Hainault and Namur then turned back, and went to Queſnoy with all their troops; the earl of Hainault diſbanded the greater part of his, but deſired of them to hold themſelves in readineſs, for he ſhould ſhortly go to the aſſiſtance of the king of France, his uncle.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

KING EDWARD CREATES SIR HENRY OF FLANDERS A KNIGHT*, AND AFTERWARD MARCHES INTO PICARDY.

AS ſoon as the king of England had paſſed the Scheld, and had entered the kingdom of France, he called to him the lord Henry of Flanders,

* His name was Henry Eam. He was eight years afterward knighted, or, more probably, made a banneret, by the prince of Wales, who ſettled on him one hundred marks for his

ders, who was but a young eſquire, and knighted him—at the ſame time giving him two hundred pounds ſterling a year, properly ſecured in England.

The king was lodged in the abbey of Mont St. Martin, where he remained two days; his troops were ſcattered round about in the country. The duke of Brabant was quartered at the monaſtery of Vaucelles.

When the king of France, who was at Compiégne, heard this news, he increaſed his forces every where, and ſent the earl of Eu and Guines, his conſtable, with a large body of men at arms, to St. Quentin, to guard that town and the frontiers againſt his enemies. He ſent the lords of Coucy and of Ham to their caſtles, and a great number of men at arms to Guiſe, Ribemont, Bouchain, and the neighbouring fortreſſes on the borders of his kingdom; and came himſelf to Peronne, in the Vermandois.

During the time the king of England was at the abbey of Mont St. Martin, his people overran the country as far as Bapaume, and very near to Peronne and St. Quentin: they found it rich and plentiful, for there had not been any wars in thoſe parts.

Sir Henry of Flanders, to do credit to his newly acquired knighthood, and to obtain honour, made one of a party of knights, who were conducted by

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his life, payable from the manor of Bradenaſh, in the county of Devon. He was alſo the twenty-fourth knight of the garter. Ashmole.

ſir John de Hainault. There were among them the lords of Fauquemont, Bergues, Vaudreſen, Lens, and many others, to the number of five hundred combatants: they had a deſign upon a town in the neighbourhood, called Hennecourt, whither the greater number of the inhabitants of the country had retired, who, confiding in the ſtrength of this fortreſs, had carried with them all their moveables. Sir Arnold of Bacqueghen and ſir William du Dunor had already been there, but had done nothing: upon which all theſe lords had collected together, and were deſirous of going thither to do their utmoſt to conquer it.

There was an abbot at that time in Hennecourt of great courage and underſtanding, who ordered barriers to be made of wood-work around the town, and likewiſe to be placed acroſs the ſtreet, ſo that there was not more than half a foot from one poſt to the other; he then collected armed men, provided ſtones, quick-lime, and ſuch like inſtruments of annoyance, to guard them.

As ſoon as the lords above mentioned came there, the abbot poſted his people between the barriers and the gate, and flung the gate open; the lords diſmounted and approached the barriers, which were very ſtrong, ſword in hand, and great ſtrokes were given to thoſe within, who defended themſelves very valiantly. Sir Abbot did not ſpare himſelf; but, having a good leathern jerkin on, dealt about his blows manfully, and received as good in his turn. Many a gallant action was performed; and

thoſe

thoſe within the barriers, flung upon the aſſailants ſtones, logs, and pots full of lime, to annoy them.

It chanced that ſir Henry of Flanders, who was one of the foremoſt, with his ſword attached to his wriſt, laid about him at a great rate: he came too near the abbot, who caught hold of his ſword, and drew him to the barriers with ſo much force, that his arm was dragged through the grating, for he could not quit his ſword with honour. The abbot continued pulling, and, had the grating been wide enough, he would have had him through, for his ſhoulder had paſſed, and he kept his hold, to the knight's great diſcomfort. On the other ſide, his brother knights were endeavouring to draw him out of his hands; and this laſted ſo long, that ſir Henry was ſorely hurt: he was, however, at laſt reſcued—but his ſword remained with the abbot. And at the time I was writing this book, as I paſſed through that town, the monks ſhowed me this ſword, which was kept there, much ornamented. It was there that I learnt all the truth of this aſſault.

Hennecourt was very vigorouſly attacked that day; and it laſted until veſpers. Many of the aſſailants were killed or wounded. Sir John of Hainault loſt a knight from Holland, called ſir Herman, who bore for arms a feſs componé gules, and in chief, three buckles azure.

When the Flemings, Hainaulters, Engliſh, and Germans, who were there, ſaw the courage of thoſe within the town, and that, inſtead of gaining any advantage, they were beaten down and wounded, they retreated in the evening, carrying

with them to their quarters the wounded and bruiſed.

On the next morning the king departed from Mont St. Martin, and ordered, under pain of death, that no damage ſhould be done to the abbey, which was obſerved. They then entered the Vermandois, and at an early hour took up their lodgings on Mont St. Quentin. They were in a regular order of battle; and thoſe of St. Quentin might have encountered them, had they choſen it, but they had no deſire to iſſue out of the town.

The ſcouts of the army went up to the barriers, and ſkirmiſhed with thoſe who were there. The conſtable of France and ſir Charles de Blois drew up their people in order of battle before the barriers; and when the Engliſhmen, among whom were the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Northampton, ſir Reginald Cobham, and many others, ſaw the manner in which it was done, they retreated to the main army of the king, which remained encamped on the hill until four o'clock the next morning. A council was then held, to conſider whether they ſhould march ſtraight into France, or draw towards Tierache, keeping near the borders of Hainault. By the advice of the duke of Brabant, the latter plan was followed, as from that country they drew all their proviſion; and they reſolved, that if king Philip ſhould follow them with his army, as they ſuppoſed he would, they would wait for him in the plains, and give him battle without fail.

They then ſet out from Mont St. Quentin, ranged in a regular order, in three battalions. The marſhals and

and the Germans led the van, the king of England the centre, and the duke of Brabant the rear: they advanced not more than three or four leagues a day, halting early, but burning and pillaging all the country they paſſed through.

A troop of Engliſh and Germans croſſed the river Somme, a little below the abbey of Vermans, to which they did much damage; another troop, under the command of ſir John of Hainault, and the lords of Fauquemont and Bacqueghen, went by a different road, and came to Origny St. Benoite*, a tolerably good town, but weakly encloſed; ſo that it was ſoon taken by aſſault, robbed, and pillaged, an abbey of nuns violated, and the whole town burnt. They then marched forward towards Guiſe and Ribemont.

The king of England came and lodged at Vehories where he remained a whole day, whilſt his people overran all the country thereabouts, and laid it waſte. The king then took his road to la Flamengrie, in his way to l'Eſchelle, in Tierache: the marſhals, with the biſhop of Lincoln, accompanied by upwards of five hundred lances, croſſed the river Triſagee, entered the Laonnois, near the eſtate of the lord of Coucy, and burnt St. Gouvin and the town of Marle. They lay one night at Vau, below Laon, and the next day returned to the main army, as they had learnt from ſome of their priſoners that king Philip of France was come

* A ſmall town in Picardy, three leagues from St. Quentin.

to St. Quentin with one hundred thouſand men, and there intended to croſs the river Somme. They burnt in their retreat a very good town, called Crecy ſur Selle, with a great many others, as well as villages, in that neighbourhood.

We muſt now ſpeak of the expedition of ſir John of Hainault, who had with him full five hundred fighting men. He came firſt to Guiſe, which he burnt, and deſtroyed the mills. In the fortreſs was the lady Jane, his daughter, wife of Lewis earl of Blois: ſhe begged of her father to ſpare the lands and heritage of his ſon-in-law; but in vain—for ſir John would not depart, until he had completed the purpoſe of his expedition. He then returned to the king, who was lodged in the abbey of Sarnaques, while his people overran the country.

The lord of Fauquemont led ſix ſcore German lances to Lonnion, in Tierache, a large level town; the inhabitants of which had almoſt all retired with what they could carry off into the woods, and there had fortified their poſition, by cutting down large trees. The Germans followed them, and being joined by ſir Arnold Bacqueghen and his company, they attacked the people of Lonnion in the wood, who defended themſelves as well as they could: but they were overpowered, and obliged to flee. There were about forty killed and wounded, and all they brought there plundered. Thus was this country ruined without any hindrance; and the Engliſh acted as they thought proper.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND APPOINT A DAY FOR THEIR ARMIES TO ENGAGE.

KING Edward ſet out from Sarnaques, and came to Montrieul, where he lay one day, and on the morrow to la Flamengrie, where he cantoned all his people near him: their numbers amounted to more than forty thouſand men. He held a council, and reſolved, that he would wait for king Philip and his army, and would there offer them battle.

The king of France had left St. Quentin, where he was daily receiving reinforcements, with all his army, and advanced as far as Vironfoſſe, where he ſtopped, and ordered his army to halt, ſaying he would not move further, before he fought the king of England and his allies, who were not more than two leagues diſtant.

As ſoon as the earl of Hainault who had remained at Queſnoy with his men at arms, was informed that the king of France was at Vironfoſſe, in expectation of giving battle, he puſhed forward and joined the army of France, with about five hundred lances, and preſented himſelf before his uncle, who did not receive him very graciouſly, becauſe he had been with his adverſary before Cambray: nevertheleſs the earl excuſed himſelf ſo handſomely, that the king and his counſellors were well enough ſatisfied. It was ordered by the marſhals, that is to ſay, by the marſhals Bertrand

and

and de Trie, that the earl ſhould be poſted very near to the Engliſh army.

The quarters of the two kings were on the plain between Vironfoſſe and la Flamengrie, without any advantage of ground—and in the memory of man there had not been ſeen ſo fine an aſſembly of great lords; for the king of France was there in perſon, and had with him king Charles of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and the king of Scotland, dukes, counts, barons, and knights without number, and they were daily increaſing.

When the king of England had halted in the champaign country of Tierache, as you have before heard, he was informed, that the king of France was within two leagues of him, and eager to give him battle; he therefore ſummoned the chiefs of his army, and demanded of them the beſt method of preſerving his honour, as his intention was to accept the combat.

The lords looked at each other, and requeſted the duke of Brabant to give his opinion. The duke replied, that he was for fighting, as they could not depart honourably without it; and he adviſed, that a herald ſhould be ſent to the king of France, to offer him battle, and to fix the day.

A herald, who belonged to the duke of Gueldres, and ſpoke French well, had this commiſſion. After being informed what he was to ſay, he rode to the French army, and coming to the king and his counſellors, told them, that the king of England, having halted in the plains, demanded and required the combat of one army againſt the other. To this

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king Philip anſwered willingly, and appointed the Friday following for the day, this being Wedneſday.

The herald returned back, well cloathed with handſome furred mantles, which the king and lords of France had given him for the ſake of the news he had brought, and related the good cheer he had received.

The day being thus fixed, information of it was given to the captains of either army, and every one made his preparations accordingly.

On the Thurſday morning, two knights belonging to the earl of Hainault, the lords of Faguinelles and Tupegny, mounted their ſteeds; and theſe two leaving their own army, ſet out to view that of the Engliſh. They rode on for ſome time boldly along the line of the Engliſh army; when it chanced that the horſe of the lord of Faguinelles took fright, ran off in ſpite of all the efforts of his maſter, and carried him, whether he would or no, to the quarters of the enemy. He fell into the hands of the the Germans, who, ſoon perceiving he did not belong to their party, ſurrounded him and his horſe, and took him priſoner. He remained priſoner to five or ſix German gentleman, who immediately ranſomed him.

When they found out that he was a Hainaulter, they aſked him whether he knew ſir John of Hainault; he replied, Yes, and begged of them, for the love of God, to carry him to him, becauſe he was ſure he would be ſecurity for his ranſom. The Germans were delighted at this, and carried him to ſir John, who pledged himſelf for his ranſom.

ſom. The lord of Faguinelles thereupon returned to the army of Hainault, to his earl and other lords. His ſteed was returned to him through the entreaties of the above lord of Beaumont. Thus paſſed that day, without any other thing occurring worthy of being recorded.

CHAP. XL.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND DRAW UP THEIR ARMIES IN BATTLE ARRAY AT VIRON-FOSSE.

WHEN Friday morning was come, the two armies got themſelves in readineſs, and heard maſs, each lord among his own people, and at his own quarters: many took the ſacrament and confeſſed themſelves.

We ſhall ſpeak firſt of the Engliſh order of battle, which was drawn out on the plain, and formed three battalions of infantry. They placed their horſes and baggage in a ſmall wood behind them, and fortified it.

The firſt battalion was commanded by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blanckenburg, ſir John de Hainault, the earls of Mons and Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, ſir William du Fort, ſir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the Germans. There were twenty-two banners and ſixty pennons; and the whole conſiſted of eight thouſand good men.

The ſecond battalion was under the duke of Brabant, with whom were the barons and knights of his country. Firſt, the lord of Kus, the lord of Breda, the lord of Berques, the lord of Rodas, the lord of Vauſelaire, the lord Broguinal, the lord d'Eſtonnevort, the lord of Wyten, the lord d'Elka, the lord of Caſſebegne, the lord of Duffle, ſir Thierry de Valcourt, ſir Raſſe de Gres, ſir John de Caſſebegne, ſir Walter de Hautebergue, the three brothers de Harlebeque, ſir John Fitifee, ſir Giles de Cotterebe, ſir Henry of Flanders, whom we had before occaſion to mention, and ſeveral other barons and knights of Flanders, who were under the banner of the duke of Brabant; that is to ſay, the lords of Hallain and Guiten, ſir Hector Villains, ſir John of Rhodes, ſir Vauflart de Guiſtelles, ſir William d'Eſtrates, ſir Goſſuin de la Muelle, and many more.

The duke of Brabant had with him twenty-four banners and eighty pennons; the whole amounting to ſeven thouſand men.

The third battalion, which was the greateſt, was commanded by the king of England in perſon. With him were, his couſin, the earl of Derby, ſon of the earl of Lancaſter, the biſhop of Lincoln, the biſhop of Durham, the earl of Saliſbury, the earls of Northampton and Glouceſter, the earl of Suffolk, ſir Robert d'Artois, who was called earl of Richmond, the earl of Hereford, ſir Reginald Cobham, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, ſir Lewis and ſir John Beauchamp, the lord Delaware, the lord Lincoln, the lord Baſſet,

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the lord Fitzwalter, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir John Liſle, and many others, whom I cannot name. The king created many knights; among whom was ſir John Chandos, whoſe numerous acts of proweſs are recorded in this book.

The king had twenty-eight banners and ninety pennons; and there might be in his diviſion about ſix thouſand men at arms, and the ſame number of archers. He had formed on his wing another battalion, under the command of the earl of Warwick, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Berkeley, the lord Molins, and ſome others, who were on horſeback, in order to rally thoſe that might be thrown into diſorder, and to ſerve as a rear guard.

When every thing had been thus arranged, and each lord under his proper banner, as had been ordered by the marſhals, the king mounted an ambling palfrey, and, attended only by ſir Robert d'Artois, ſir Reginald Cobham, and ſir Walter Manny, rode along the line of his army, and right ſweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preſerve his honour, which they all promiſed. He then returned to his own diviſion, ſet himſelf in battle array as became him, and ordered that no one ſhould advance before the banners of the marſhals.

We will now ſpeak of the king of France, as it has been related by thoſe who were preſent. There were eleven ſcore banners, four kings, ſix dukes, twenty ſix earls, upwards of five thouſand knights, and more than forty thouſand common men.

With

With Philip de Valois, king of France, were, the kings of Bohemia, of Navarre, and of Scotland; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorraine, and Athens; the earls of Alençon (the king's brother), of Flanders, of Hainault, of Blos, of Bar, of Forets, of Foix, of Armagnac, the earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earls of Longueville, of Eſtampes, of Vendôme, of Harcourt, of St. Pol, of Guines, of Boulogne, of Rouſſy, of Dammartin, of Valentinois, of Auxerre, of Sancerre, of Geneve, of Dreux; and from Gaſcony and Languedoc ſo many earls and viſcounts, that it would take up too much time to name them.

It was a fine ſight to ſee the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horſes, the knights and eſquires richly armed.

The French were formed in three large battalions, each conſiſting of fifteen thouſand men at arms, and twenty thouſand men on foot.

CHAP. XLI.

THE TWO KINGS RETIRE FROM VIRONFOSSE WITHOUT GIVING BATTLE.

IT was a matter of much wonder how two ſuch fine armies could ſeparate without fighting. But the French were of contrary opinions among themſelves, and each ſpoke out his thoughts. Some ſaid it would be a great ſhame, and very blameable, if the king did not give battle when he ſaw his enemies ſo near him, and drawn up in his own kingdom in battle

battle array, in order to fight with him according to his promiſe: others ſaid it would exhibit a ſingular inſtance of madneſs to fight, as they were not certain that ſome treachery was not intended; beſides, if fortune ſhould be unfavourable, the king would run a great riſk of loſing his kingdom, and if he ſhould conquer his enemies, he would not be the nearer to gain poſſeſſion of England, or of the land of the allies. Thus the day paſſed until near twelve o'clock in diſputes and debates. About noon a hare was ſtarted in the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great ſhouting and noiſe, which cauſed thoſe in rear to imagine the combat was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their ſwords. Several new knights were made, eſpecially by the earl of Hainault, who knighted fourteen, and they were ever after called *knights of the hare.*

In this ſituation the two armies remained all Friday, without moving, except as has been mentioned. In the midſt of the debates of the council of the king of France, letters were brought to the king from Robert king of Sicily, addreſſed to him and his council.

This king Robert was, as they ſaid, a very great aſtrologer and full of deep ſcience: he had often caſt the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had found, by his aſtrology and the influence of the ſtars, that, if the king of France fought with the king of England in perſon, he would ſurely be defeated; in conſequence of which, he, as a wiſe king, and much fearing the danger

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and peril of his couſin, the king of France, had ſent long before letters, moſt earneſtly to requeſt king Philip and his council never to give battle to the Engliſh when king Edward ſhould be there in perſon.

Theſe doubts, and this letter from the king of Sicily, made many of the lords of France ſore diſheartened, of which the king was informed, who, notwithſtanding, was very eager for the combat; but he was ſo ſtrongly diſſuaded from it, that the day paſſed quietly, and each man retired to his quarters.

When the earl of Hainault ſaw that there was no likelihood of a battle, he departed with all his people, and returned to Queſnoy.

The king of England, the duke of Brabant, and the other lords, began to prepare for their return, packed up their baggage, and came that Friday night to Aveſnes, in Hainault, where they took up their quarters, and in its neighbourhood.

The next day the Germans and Brabanters took their leave, and returned to their homes. The king of England went to Brabant with the duke, his couſin.

The king of France, the Friday afternoon that the two armies had been drawn out in order of battle, retired to his lodgings, very angry that the combat had not taken place; but thoſe of his council told him he had acted right well, and had valiantly purſued his enemies, inſomuch that he had driven them out of his kingdom, and the king of England muſt make many ſuch expeditions before he could conquer the kingdom of France.

The next day king Philip gave permiſſion for all to depart, dukes, barons, knights, &c. moſt courteouſly thanking the leaders for having come ſo well equipped to ſerve and aſſiſt him. Thus ended this great expedition, and every man returned to his own houſe.

The king of France went to St. Omer, and gave there his principal orders for public affairs. He diſpatched a great number of men at arms into his garriſons, eſpecially to Tournay, Liſle, and Douay, and to all the towns bordering on the Empire. He ſent ſir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, and made him governor-general and regent of all the country thereabout, and ſir Edward de Beaujeu to Mortaigne; and when he had ordered the reſt of his buſineſs to his liking, he drew towards Paris.

CHAP. XLII.

KING EDWARD ASSUMES THE ARMS AND TITLE OF KING OF FRANCE.

WHEN king Edward had departed from la Flamengrie, and arrived in Brabant, he ſet out ſtraight for Bruſſels; whither he was attended by the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, the marquis of Blankenburg, the earl of Mons, the lord John of Hainault, the lord of Faquemont, and all the barons of the Empire, who were allied to him, as they wiſhed to conſider what was next to be done in this war which they had begun. For greater expedition, they ordered a conference to be holden in the

the city of Bruſſels, and invited Jacob von Artaveld to attend it, who came thither in great array, and brought with him all the councils from the principal towns of Flanders.

At this parliament, the king of England was adviſed, by his Allies of the Empire, to ſolicit the Flemings to give him their aid and aſſiſtance in this war, to challenge the king of France, to follow king Edward wherever he ſhould lead them, and in return he would aſſiſt them in the recovery of Liſle, Douay, and Bethune.

The Flemings heard this propoſal with pleaſure; but they requeſted of the king, that they might conſider of it among themſelves, and in a ſhort time they would give their anſwer.

The king conſented, and ſoon after they made this reply:

'Beloved ſire, you formerly made us a ſimilar requeſt; and we are willing to do every thing in reaſon for you, without prejudice to our honour and faith—but we are pledged by promiſe on oath, under a penalty of two millions of florins, to the apoſtolical chamber, not to act offenſively againſt the king of France in any way, whoever he may be, without forfeiting this ſum, and incurring the ſentence of excommunication: but if you will do what we will tell you, you will find a remedy; which is, that you take the arms of France, quarter them with thoſe of England, and call yourſelf king of France. We will acknowledge your title as good, and we will demand of you quittance for the above ſum, which you will grant us as king of France:

thus we ſhall be abſolved, and at liberty to go with you wherever you pleaſe.'

The king ſummoned his council, for he was loth to take the title and arms of France, ſeeing that at preſent he had not conquered any part of that kingdom, and it was uncertain whether he ever ſhould: on the other hand, he was unwilling to loſe the aid and aſſiſtance of the Flemings, who could be of greater ſervice to him than any others at that period. He conſulted, therefore, with the lords of the Empire, the lord Robert d'Artois, and his moſt privy counſellors, who, after having duly weighed the good and bad, adviſed him to make for anſwer to the Flemings, that if they would engage, under their ſeals, to the agreement of aiding him to carry on the war, he would willingly comply with their conditions, and would ſwear to aſſiſt them in the recovery of Liſle, Douay, and Bethune; to which they willingly conſented. A day was fixed for them to meet at Ghent, where the king and the greater part of the lords of the Empire, and in general the councils from the different towns in Flanders aſſembled. The above-mentioned propoſals and anſwers were then repeated, ſworn to, and ſealed; and the king of England bore the arms of France, quartering them with thoſe of England: he alſo took the title of king of France from that day forward, and maintained it, until he laid it aſide by a certain agreement, as will be hereafter related in this book.

At this conference held at Ghent, the lords engaged the ſummer enſuing to make an active war in France, and promiſed to beſiege the city of Tournay.

The Flemings were much rejoiced at this, for they thought they ſhould be ſtrong enough to conquer it; and if it were once under the protection of the king of England, they could eaſily recover Liſle, Douay, Bethune, and all their dependencies, which of right belonged to the country of Flanders.

The lords and the councils were ſtill at Ghent, much wondering why thoſe of the country of Hainault had not come to this conference; but ſuch proper excuſes were ſent, that the king and the others were ſatisfied.

Things remained on this footing, when the lords took their leave, and ſet out for their own country. The king of England went to Antwerp; but the queen remained with her train at Ghent, where ſhe was often viſited and comforted by Jacob von Artaveld and other lords and ladies of Ghent.

The king left in Flanders the earls of Saliſbury and of Suffolk, who went to the town of Ypres, which they garriſoned, and thence haraſſed much thoſe of Liſle and its environs.

When the king's veſſel was ready, he embarked with a numerous attendance at Antwerp, and ſailed for London, where he arrived about St. Andrew's day, 1339, and was joyfully received by his ſubjects, who were anxious for his return.

Great complaints were made to him of the ravages which the Normans, Picards, and Spaniards had committed at Southampton; upon which he anſwered, that, whenever it came to his turn, he would make them pay dearly for it—and he kept his word before the end of that year.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE FRENCH DESTROY THE TERRITORIES OF SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.

KING Philip, after his return to Paris, had diſbanded his army; but he had ſent ſtrong reinforcements to the navy which he had at ſea, under the command of Quiriel, Bahucet, and Barbenoire. Theſe three maſter corſairs had under them a number of Genoeſe, Normans, Picards, and Bretons, as ſoldiers, and had done this winter much damage to the Engliſh: they frequently came near Sandwich, Rye, Winchelſea, and Dover, upon the Engliſh coaſt, and were much dreaded, for they had upwards of ſixty thouſand ſoldiers, and none durſt leave the Engliſh ports, for fear of being pillaged and put to death.

Theſe ſeamen had gained conſiderably for the king of France during the courſe of the winter, and, in particular, had taken the ſhip Chriſtopher, richly laden with money and wool, which the Engliſh were carrying to Flanders. This veſſel had coſt the king of England a very large ſum. When taken by the Normans and others, it was pillaged, and all on board put to death. The French afterwards ſpoke much of this capture, and made great boaſtings reſpecting it.

The king of France was continually thinking how he could revenge himſelf on his enemies, and eſpecially on ſir John of Hainault, who had done him, as he had been informed, much miſchief; ſuch as

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conducting king Edward into the countries of Cambresis and Tierache, and burning and destroying all he passed through. He wrote therefore to my lord de Bemont, lord of Bresne, to the vidame of Chalons, to the lord John de la Bone, to the lords John and Gerald de Loire, ordering them to collect a body of men, and make an incursion upon the lands of the lord John of Hainault, and burn them without delay.

These lords obeyed the king's command, and secretly collected so many, that they amounted to five hundred armed men, with whom they one morning came before the town of Chimay, entered it, and made a large booty; for the inhabitants never imagined the French would advance so far into the country, or venture to pass the forest of Tierache: however, they did so, and they burnt the suburbs of Chimay, and many villages in the neighbourhood, indeed almost all the territory of Chimay except its fortresses. They then retreated to Aubenton, in Tierache, with their plunder.

News and complaints of this were soon brought to sir John of Hainault, who at that time was at Mons with his nephew, at which he was very angry, and not without cause: the earl was also displeased, for these lands were held under him; but he was silent, and showed not any open design of revenge upon the kingdom of France.

About the time of this disaster, it happened that some soldiers, who were garrisoned in Cambray, came to a small fortified house, beyond the walls of that town, called Relenques, that belonged to sir

John of Hainault, and was guarded by a baſtard of his, who might have with him about fifteen men; they attacked it one whole day, but it was valiantly defended. The ditches were frozen over, ſo that any one might approach the walls, which thoſe within perceiving, packed up all they could, and leaving it about midnight, ſet it on fire. The next morning, when thoſe from Cambray returned and ſaw it on fire, they deſtroyed the walls and every thing remaining. The baſtard and his companions retreated to Valenciennes.

It has been before related how ſir Walter Manny took the caſtle of Thin l'Evêque, and placed his brother Giles Manny with a garriſon in it. This brother made many incurſions upon thoſe of Cambray, and gave them much uneaſineſs, for he was every day ſkirmiſhing cloſe up to the barriers. In this ſtate he kept them for ſome time.

One morning very early he ſet out from the caſtle of Thin with about ſix ſcore men at arms, and came to the barriers at Cambray. The alarm was ſo great, that many were frightened. The garriſon armed themſelves as faſt as they could, and mounted their horſes with all haſte, hurrying to the gate where the ſkirmiſh was, where, finding ſir Giles had driven back thoſe of Cambray, he inſtantly attacked their enemies. Among the Cambreſians was a young eſquire from Gaſcony, called William Marchant, who came to the field of battle mounted on a good ſteed, his ſhield hanging to his neck, his lance in its reſt, completely armed, and ſpurring on to the combat. When ſir Giles ſaw him approach, he

he ſpurred on to meet him moſt vigorouſly, and they met lance in hand, without fear of each other. Sir Giles had his ſhield pierced through, as well as all the armour near his heart, and the iron paſſed quite through his body. Thus he fell to the ground. This cauſed as great diſmay to one party as joy to the other. The ſkirmiſh was very ſharp, ſeveral were wounded, and many gallant actions performed; but at laſt thoſe of Cambray kept their ground, and drove back their enemies.

They returned into the town in triumph with the body of ſir Giles, whom they immediately diſarmed, and had his wounds examined, and moſt willingly would they have preſerved his life; but their wiſhes were vain, for he died the next day. They determined to ſend the body to his two brothers, John and Thierry, who were in garriſon at Bouchan, in l'Oſtrevant; for, although the country of Hainault was not in a ſtate of war, all the frontiers toward France were ſtrictly guarded. They ordered a handſome coffin, in which they placed the corpſe, and directed two monks to carry it to his brothers, who received it with much ſorrow, and afterwards had it carried to the church of the Cordeliers, at Valenciennes, where it was buried.

The two brothers came to the caſtle of Thin l'Evêque, and made a very ſevere war againſt the Cambreſians, in revenge for the loſs they had ſuffered from them.

Sir Godemar du Fay at this time commanded for the king of France in Tournay and the fortreſſes in its neighbourhood; the lord of Beaujeau in Mortaigne

taigne upon the Scheld; the high ſteward of Carcaſſonne in the town of St. Amand; ſir Aimery de Poictiers in Douay; the lord Gallois de la Bauſme, the lord of Villars, the marſhal of Mirepoix, and the lord of Marneil, in the city of Cambray. Theſe knights, as well as the eſquires and ſoldiers, deſired nothing more ardently than permiſſion to enter Hainault to pillage and deſtroy it. The biſhop of Cambray, who had retired to Paris, being near the king's perſon, complained, whenever he found a fit opportunity, of the damage the Hainaulters had occaſioned him, and that they had burnt and deſtroyed for him more than any others would have done; ſo that the king at laſt gave his conſent for the ſoldiers in the county of Cambray to make an invaſion, and over-run the country of Hainault.

Then the garriſon of Cambray prepared ſix hundred men at arms for this incurſion, and they ſent out on a Saturday at nightfall from Cambray thoſe that were ordered for it. At the ſame hour thoſe from Male-maiſon began their march. The two detachments met on the road, and came to the town of Haſpres, which was a large handſome town, though not fortified; nor had the inhabitants any fear, for they had never received the ſmalleſt notice of war being declared againſt the country.

The French, on entering the town, found every one within doors. Having taken and pillaged what they pleaſed, they burnt the town ſo completely, that nothing but the walls remained.

In Haſpres there was a priory of black monks, that was dependant on that of St. Waas in Arras; the

the monaſtery was extenſive, and had large buildings belonging to it, which they alſo pillaged and burnt moſt villainouſly. They returned to Cambray after this excurſion, driving all their booty before them.

News of this was ſoon carried to Valenciennes, and earl William was informed of it as he was ſleeping in his hôtel called la Salle. He immediately roſe, and dreſſed himſelf in great haſte, and ſummoned all the lords that were with him:—at that time there were not many, only his high ſteward, ſir Gerald de Verchin, ſir Henry d'Antoing, ſir Henry de Huſſuliſe, ſir Thierry de Walcourt, the lords of Flayon and Potrelles, and ſome few attached to his perſon, for the others were lodged at different houſes, and were not ready as ſoon as the earl, who, without waiting for them, haſtened to the market-place of Valenciennes, and ordered the alarm bells to be rung.

This awakened all the inhabitants, who made themſelves ready as quickly as poſſible to follow their lord, who was already out of the town, on horſeback, puſhing forward towards Haſpres.

When he had advanced about a league, he was informed that his efforts were in vain, for the French had retreated. He then went to the abbey of Fontenelles, where the lady his mother reſided, who took all poſſible pains to appeaſe and ſoften his anger; but he ſaid, that for this robbery he would make the kingdom of France ſhortly pay dear.

The lady his mother did all ſhe could to appeaſe him, and would moſt willingly have made excuſes for

for the king of France in this diſaſter; but he would not liſten to them, and ſaid he muſt conſider in what manner he could moſt ſpeedily revenge himſelf, and burn part of the French territories. When he had remained there ſome little time, he returned to Valenciennes, and wrote letters to the knights and prelates, to have their advice what ſhould be done under theſe circumſtances, and to ſummon them to be at Mons by a fixed day.

When ſir John of Hainault, who was at Beaumont, thinking how he could beſt revenge the burning of his land, heard theſe things, he mounted his horſe, and came to his nephew, whom he found at la Salle. As ſoon as the earl perceived him, he came to meet him, ſaying, 'Fair uncle, your abſence has made the French very proud.' Sir John replied, 'God be praiſed! for although I am much vexed at the loſs you have ſuſtained, yet I cannot help being ſomewhat pleaſed with what has happened; for you now ſee what return you have had for the love and aſſiſtance you bore to the French:—you muſt now make an incurſion upon them on their own grounds.' 'Fix upon the place,' ſaid the earl, 'and it ſhall be directly undertaken.'

When the day of the conference, which was to be holden at Mons, was arrived, all the councils from the different towns, as well as thoſe of Holland and Zealand, were there.

Many propoſals were made; and ſome of the barons were for ſending perſons properly inſtructed to the king of France, to demand if he had conſented or ordered the invaſion and burning of

Hainault,

Hainault, or had ſent his ſoldiers upon the lands of the earl, and upon what title this had been done, as there had not been any defiance or challenge ſent to the earl or to the country. Others were for revenging this outrage in a ſimilar manner, as the French had begun.

Upon theſe propoſals there was much argument and debating; but it was at laſt determined, that neither the earl nor the country could get clear of this buſineſs without declaring war againſt the kingdom of France, as well for the burning of the lands of Chimay, as for their outrages committed at Haſpres: it was therefore reſolved, that a challenge ſhould be ſent to the king of France, and that afterwards they ſhould enter his kingdom with a large body of men.

Theſe letters of defiance were written and ſealed by the earl and all the barons; and the abbot Thibaut de St. Criſpin was ordered to carry them. The earl then returned thanks to all his lords for the good diſpoſition he ſaw them in, for they had promiſed him aid and aſſiſtance in every ſituation.

The abbot of St. Criſpin carried this challenge to the king, who made but light of it, ſaying, that his nephew was an outrageous madman, and was bargaining to have his country burnt and deſtroyed. The abbot, upon this, returned home, and related to the earl and his council what had happened to him, with the anſwers he had received.

The earl immediately collected men at arms, ſummoned all his knights and eſquires in Brabant and Flanders, as well as in his own country, and exerted

exerted himſelf ſo much, that in a ſhort time he got together a large body of horſemen, well equipped. They ſet out from Mons, in Hainault, and that neighbourhood, and advanced towards the lands of Chimay, for it was the intention of the earl and his uncle to burn and deſtroy the territories of the lord of Breſne, as alſo Aubenton, in Tierache.

CHAP. XLIV.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES AND DESTROYS AUBENTON, IN TIERACHE.

THE inhabitants of the town of Aubenton were much afraid of the earl of Hainault and his uncle, and had expreſſed their alarms to the high bailiff of Vermandois, who ſent to their aid the vidame of Chalons, the lord of Beaumont, the lord de la Bone, the lord John of Loire, and many others.

Theſe knights, with their companions, marched into Aubenton, to the amount of full three hundred men at arms. The town was encloſed only by a paliſade, which in many places was lately repaired. They had made every preparation to wait for the Hainaulters and defend the town, which was large, rich, and full of draperies.

The Hainaulters came on a Friday evening, and took up their quarters near Aubenton, whence they conſidered on what ſide the town was moſt eaſily to be taken. The next day they marched to attack it in three battalions, their banners well arranged in front, with their croſs-bow men.

The

The earl of Hainault led the firſt battalion, having under him a multitude of knights and eſquires of his own country. His uncle commanded the ſecond, where there were many men at arms. The third was under the lord of Fauquemont, and compoſed of Germans. Each lord was with his own people, and under his proper banner.

The battle began immediately on their advancing, and very ſharp it was. The croſs-bow men ſhot from within and without, by which many were wounded. The earl and his battalion came to the gate, where there was a ſevere aſſault and much ſkirmiſhing. The vidame of Chalons, who was there, performed wonders; and on the ſpot he made three of his ſons knights, who did many feats of arms worthy of their new honours: but the earl preſſed them ſo cloſely, that he gained the barriers, and obliged his opponents to retire within the gate, where the aſſault continued very fierce.

Sir John de la Bone and ſir John of Beaumont were poſted at the gate leading to Chimay, which was gallantly attacked. The French were forced to retire within the gate, for they had loſt their barriers, which the Hainaulters had carried, as well as the bridge. The combat was here renewed with double vigour; for thoſe who had entered mounting upon the gate, flung down upon their aſſailants logs of wood, pots full of lime, and plenty of ſtones, by which thoſe who had not very ſtrong ſhields were much hurt.

Baldwin of Beaufort, an eſquire of Hainault, received there ſo violent a blow from a large ſtone, that

that his ſhield was ſplit by it, and his arm broken, which forced him to retire to his quarters; and, owing to this accident, for a long time he could not give any aſſiſtance.

The attack was puſhed on with vigour, and the town defended by the garriſon with much valour; which was indeed neceſſary, as their aſſailants were many; and, had it not been for the gentlemen who had entered Aubenton, it would have ſoon yielded. However, at length the town was taken by force; the paliſades, which were only of wood, were broken down. Sir John of Hainault and his banner firſt entered the town, with great ſhoutings, and noiſe of men at arms. Then the vidame of Chalons retired towards the church with ſome knights and eſquires, where they formed themſelves, with diſplayed banners and pennons, to the intent of combating as long as their honour demanded: but the lord of Breſne and his banner withdrew in a diſorderly manner; for he knew well how much ſir John of Hainault was enraged againſt him, and, if he had him in his power, would not admit of any ranſom; ſo he mounted his ſteed, and galloped off.

When ſir John of Hainault found that he who had done ſo much damage to his lands at Chimay was gone off towards Vervins, he purſued him with part of his company; but the lord of Breſne made greater haſte, and, finding the gate of the town open, ruſhed in and ſaved himſelf. Sir John had followed him ſo far ſword in hand; but, when he found that he had eſcaped, he returned ſpeedily by the great road to Aubenton: however, his people meeting thoſe who were

were following the lord of Breſne, attacked them, and killed a great many.

The combat continued obſtinate before the cathedral, and many were killed and wounded. Among the firſt were the vidame and two of his ſons: nor did any knight or eſquire eſcape death or being made priſoner, but thoſe who had followed the lord of Breſne.

Upwards of two thouſand men were taken in the town, which was pillaged of all the riches it contained; many waggons and carts were laden with it, and ſent to Chimay. The town was afterwards burnt to the ground; and the Hainaulters took up their quarters on the river ſide.

After the deſtruction of Aubenton, they marched toward Maubert-Fontaine, which they took on their arrival, for it was defenceleſs, and then pillaged and burnt it. They did the ſame to Aubencheul aux Bois, to Signy l'Abbaye, Signy le Petit, and all the villages thereabouts, amounting to upwards of forty.

The earl of Hainault, after this retired towards Mons, where he diſmiſſed all his bands, after returning them thanks in ſo gracious a manner for their aſſiſtance, that they all left him well pleaſed. He then formed the deſign of paſſing over to England to amuſe himſelf, and at the ſame time form a ſtrict alliance with the king, his brother-in-law, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf; as he naturally imagined, that what he had done would not be taken quietly, but that the king of France, his uncle, would make ſome incurſions into his country; for which reaſon he was anxious to have the ſupport of the Engliſh,

the Flemings, and the Brabanters, and ſummoned his council at Mons, to whom he declared his intentions. He nominated and appointed his uncle, during his abſence, ſir John of Hainault, governor of the three countries of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and ſet out with a ſmall company for Dordrecht, where he embarked, and ſailed over to England.

We ſhall now leave the earl, and relate what happened to his country during his abſence.

Sir John of Hainault, as you have heard, remained maſter and governor of the three provinces, by order of the earl, and he was obeyed as if he had been their true lord. He took up his quarters at Mons, which he proviſioned and ſtrengthened, as well as all the forts in its neighbourhood, eſpecially thoſe on the frontiers of France, with a ſufficient number of men at arms.

He ſent four knights, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Waartang, the lord of Gommegines, and ſir Henry Huſphalize, to Valenciennes, as counſellors and adviſers to the citizens and inhabitants. To Maubeuge, he ſent the ſeneſchal of Hainault, ſir Gerard de Werthin, with a hundred good lances and men at arms. To Queſnoy, the marſhal of Hainault, for Thiery de Walcourt; and to Landrecy the lord of Potrelles. He placed in Bouchain three German knights, who were brothers, of the name of Conrad. Sir Gerard de Saſſegnes was ſent to Eſcaudavore, and the lord of Fauquemont to Aveſnes: all the other fortreſſes bordering upon France were properly ſtrengthened. He begged and

entreated each captain to be attentive to his own honour, and careful of what was intruſted to him, which when they had all promiſed, they ſet out for their different ſtations.

We will now return to the king of France, and ſpeak of the expedition he was forming to invade and deſtroy Hainault, of which he made his ſon, the duke of Normandy, commander.

CHAP. XLV.

THOSE OF TOURNAY MAKE AN INCURSION INTO FLANDERS.

WHEN the king of France had been informed, that the Hainaulters had burnt the country of Tierache, had killed his knights, and deſtroyed his town of Aubenton, he ordered his ſon, the duke of Normandy, to collect a number of forces, make an incurſion into Hainault, and deſtroy that country in ſuch a manner, that it might never recover from it.

The duke replied, he would cheerfully undertake this. The king then ordered the count de Liſle, Gaſcon, who was at that time near his perſon at Paris, and whom he much loved, to collect forces, and march towards Gaſcony, as lieutenant for the king of France, with the intent of making ſome ſevere repriſals upon Bourdeaux, in the Bourdelois, and upon all the places which held or belonged to the king of England.

The count obeyed the king's orders, and left Paris for Toulouſe, where he made his preparations to fulfil his commiſſion, as you will ſee in its proper time and place.

The king of France ſent large reinforcements to the armament he had at ſea, and ordered his captains to watch the coaſt of Flanders attentively, and upon no account to ſuffer the king of England to paſs over or land in Flanders; for, if he did ſo by their fault, he would certainly puniſh them with death.

When king Philip heard, that the Flemings had done homage to the king of England, he ſent to them a prelate, as from the pope, to ſay, that if they would acknowledge him as king of France, and abandon the king of England, who had enchanted them, he would forgive them all their miſdoings, releaſe them from the large ſum of florins, which, by an old obligation, was due to him; and moreover grant them, under his ſeal, many profitable franchiſes in France.

The Flemings returned for anſwer, that they held themſelves quit and abſolved from every thing, which they owed the king of France. Upon this, the king made heavy complaints to the pope, Clement VI., who iſſued ſo tremendous an excommunication againſt them, that no prieſt was daring enough to celebrate divine ſervice there. The Flemings made remonſtrances on this to the king of England; who, to appeaſe them, ſaid, that the firſt time he ſhould croſs the ſea, he would bring with him prieſts from his own country, who ſhould ſay maſs

maſs for them, whether the pope would or not, as he had a power of ſo doing, and this ſatisfied them.

When the king of France ſaw, that he could not make the Flemings retract their opinions, he commanded thoſe in garriſon in Tournay, Liſle, Douay, and the neighbouring caſtles, to make war upon them, and overrun their country. Upon which ſir John de Roye, at that time in Tournay, and ſir Matthew de Trie, marſhall of France, together with ſir Godemar du Fay and many other knights, collected a thouſand men, ſtrongly armed and well mounted, with three hundred croſs-bowmen, as well from Tournay as from Liſle and Douay: they ſet out from Tournay one evening after ſupper, and marched ſo expeditiouſly, that they came before Courtray about day-break, and before ſunriſe had collected all the cattle thereabouts.

Some of their light-horſe advanced to the gates of the town, and killed and wounded many in the ſuburbs: they then retreated without loſs, and placed the river Lys, on their return, between them and the booty, which they had carried off that day. They brought into Tournay more than ten thouſand ſheep, and of ſwine, beeves, and kine, as many more.

The Flemings were ſore vexed at this; and Jacob von Artaveld, who was at that time at Ghent, ſwore that this expedition ſhould be revenged on Tournay and its neighbourhood.

He gave immediate orders for the different towns in Flanders to collect forces, and to ſend them to

him at a fixed day before Tournay; he alſo wrote to the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk, who were at Ypres, to beg that they would draw towards that quarter, to meet him. He then ſet out from Ghent, accompanied by great numbers, and came to a place called the Geertſberg, between Oudenarde and Tournay, where he halted, to wait for the two earls, and for thoſe of the Franc and Bruges.

When the two earls received the letters, they would not for their honour's ſake make any delay, but ſent to inform von Artaveld, that they would be with him at the appointed time and place.

They ſoon ſet out from Ypres with about fifty lances and forty croſs-bowmen, and took the road where he was waiting for them. They continued their route; but, as they were forced to paſs near the outſkirts of Liſle, it was ſoon known in that town: accordingly, 1500 horſe and foot were ſecretly armed, and ſent out in three diviſions to lie in wait, ſo that theſe lords might not eſcape from them.

The earls and their company followed the guidance of ſir Vauflart de la Croix, who had long made war upon the people of Liſle, and ſtill continued ſo to do whenever he had an opportunity:—it was for this purpoſe that he was come to Ypres. He thought himſelf quite certain of conducting the earls in ſafety, as he was well acquainted with all the roads in thoſe parts; and he would have ſucceeded now, if thoſe of Liſle had not thrown up a great trench near their town, which was not there before.

When

When ſir Vauflart came to this trench, and ſaw that their road was cut off, he was quite aſtoniſhed, and ſaid to the earls, 'My lords, we cannot go further this way, without putting ourſelves in the power of thoſe of Liſle; on which account my advice is, that we turn about and ſeek another road.' But the lords replied, 'Nay, ſir Vauflart, God forbid that we ſhould go out of our way for thoſe of Liſle! Ride on, therefore, for we have promiſed Jacob von Artaveld, that we would be with him ſome time this day.'

The Engliſh rode on without care. Sir Vauflart ſaid to them, 'It is true, my lords, that you have taken me for your guide in this expedition, and I have remained with you all this winter at Ypres, and have many thanks to give you and all your attendants; but if it ſhould happen, that thoſe of Liſle make a ſally upon us, do not fancy that I ſhall wait for them, for I ſhall ſave myſelf as faſt as I can. If by any accident I ſhould be taken, my head would pay for it, which is much dearer to me than your company.'

The lords laughed heartily, and told him they would excuſe him, if he ſhould do ſo. And as he imagined ſo it fell out; for, by not taking more precaution, they were ſurpriſed by one of the parties from Liſle, who cried out, "Stop! ſtop! you cannot paſs here without our leave:' and immediately the lance-men and croſs-bowmen fell on the Engliſh.

As ſoon as ſir Vauflart ſaw what was going on, he took care not to advance farther; but turning

about as quickly as poſſible, gallopped out of danger.

The two earls fell into the hands of their enemies, and were taken as if in a net; for the ambuſcade was placed between hedges and ditches in a very narrow road, ſo that they could neither advance nor retreat to gain the open country: however, when they ſaw their miſchance, they diſmounted, and defended themſelves as well as they could, killing and wounding a great many of their opponents; but it was all in vain, for freſh forces from Liſle were continually pouring upon them. They were therefore taken priſoners; and a young briſk eſquire of Limouſin, of the name of Raymond, nephew to pope Clement, was killed for the ſake of his beautiful armour, after he had ſurrendered himſelf, which made many good men angry.

The two earls were kept priſoners in the market-place at Liſle, and afterwards ſent to the king of France, who promiſed, that thoſe of Liſle ſhould be well rewarded for the good ſervice they had done him *.

When Jacob von Artaveld received this information at Geertſberg, he was much enraged, and, giving up all thoughts of his expedition, diſbanded his Flemings, and himſelf returned to Ghent.

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* This is a miſtake.—It was not the earl of Suffolk who was made priſoner, but his ſon, Robert de Ufford le Fitz, as he was called. DUGDALE, vol. ii.

CHAP. XLVI.

JOHN, DUKE OF NORMANDY, MARCHES INTO HAINAULT.

THE duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of the king of France, iſſued a ſpecial ſummons of his intention to be at St. Quentin about Eaſter, in the year 1340.

When he came thither, he was attended by the duke of Athens, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Auxerre, the earl Raoul of Eu, conſtable of France, the earl of Sancerre, the earl of Porcien, the earl of Rouſſi, the earl of Breſne, the earl of Grandpré, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Graon, and a multitude of other nobles from Normandy and the Low Countries.

On their being all aſſembled at St. Quentin and its environs, the conſtable and the two marſhals of France, ſir Robert Bertrand and ſir Matthew de Trie, numbered them, and found there were ſix thouſand men at arms, and eight thouſand others armed with brigandines, beſides followers of the army; which were fully ſufficient, they ſaid, to combat the earl of Hainault, or any force he could bring againſt them.

They began their march, and took the road to Chateau Cambreſis, going near to Bohain; and advanced ſo forward, that they paſſed Chateau Cambreſis, and took up their quarters at the town of Montay upon the river Selle.

Sir

Sir Richard Verchin, ſeneſchal of Hainault, was informed by his ſpies, that the duke had halted at Montay. He aſked thoſe knights and eſquires, who were with him, if they were willing to follow him; to which they conſented.

Accordingly he ſet off from his hôtel at Verchin about ſunſet, accompanied by about forty lances, and puſhed on till he came to Foretz, at the extremity of Hainault, a ſmall league from Montay, when it was dark night. He made his company halt in a field, to tighten their armour and regirth their horſes. He then told them, he ſhould like to give the duke an alert; at which they were all rejoiced, and ſaid they would ſtick by him till death; for which he gave them many thanks.

At that time there were with him, ſir James du Sart, ſir Henry de Phaliſe, ſir Oulphart de Guiſtelles, ſir John and ſir Bertrand de Chatelet. Of eſquires, there were, Giles and Thierre de Somain, Baldwin de Beaufort, Colebrier de Brule, Moreau de l'Eſcuyer, Sandrart de Stramen, John de Reberſat, Bridoul de Thiaux, and many others. They ſet forward in ſilence, and came to the town of Montay, which they entered, for the French had neglected to place guards there. The ſeneſchal and his companions diſmounted at a great hôtel, where they thought the duke was; but he was lodged in another part of the town. In that hôtel were two great lords of Normandy, the lords of Bailleul and of Beauté. The door was ſoon forced; and when theſe two knights ſaw themſelves thus ſurpriſed, and heard the cry of Hainault from the ſeneſchal, they were

were quite confounded: they, however, defended themſelves in the beſt manner they could; but the lord of Bailleul was killed, and the lord of Beauté taken priſoner by the ſeneſchal, to whom he pledged his faith to ſurrender himſelf to him within three days at Valenciennes.

The French then began to be in motion, and to iſſue from their quarters: they lighted great fires and torches, awakened every one, even the duke himſelf, whom they armed as quickly as they could, and diſplayed his banner before his hôtel, to which people of all ſorts repaired.

The Hainaulters wiſely retreated to their horſes, which they mounted, and, when they were all collected together, they carried off ten or twelve good priſoners, and returned without the ſmalleſt loſs or damage, for it was ſo dark they were not purſued. About day-break they reached Queſnoy, where they repoſed and refreſhed themſelves, and then went to Valenciennes.

The next morning the duke of Normandy gave orders for his army to diſlodge and enter Hainault, and burn and deſtroy every thing without exception. The baggage therefore began to move, and the lords of the advanced guard to proceed forward: they might amount to two hundred lances, and were commanded by ſir Theobald de Marneil, ſir Galois de la Baume, the lord of Mirepoix, the lord of Raivenal, the lord of Sempy, lord John of Landas, the lord of Hangeſt, and the lord of Tramelles. The two marſhals followed with full five hundred lances; then the duke of Normandy,

attended

attended by a crowd of earls, barons, and other lords.

The advanced troops entered Hainaült, and ſet fire to Fores, Bertrand, Vertigrieulx, Eſcarmain, Vendegyſes aux Bois, Vendegyſes upon the river Cinel. The next day they advanced further into the country, and burnt Aveſnes le ſec, Villiers en Cauchie, Gomegnies, Marchepois, Potel, Anſenoy, Perſeaux, le Fraſnoit, Andegay, the good town of Bavay, and all the country as far as the river Honneau.

This ſecond day a ſharp attack was made on the caſtle of Verchin, and ſome ſkirmiſhing, by the diviſion commanded by the marſhals, but without ſucceſs, as it was very well defended. The duke took up his quarters for that night upon the Selle, between Hauſy and Sauſoy.

Sir Valerian, lord of Fauquemont, commanded in Maubeuge, and with him were full one hundred lances of Germans and Hainaulters. As ſoon as he was informed of this incurſion of the French, and how they were burning the country, and had heard the poor people lament and bewail their loſſes, he put on his armour, and ordered his people to get themſelves in readineſs. He gave up the command of the town to the lords of Beaurevoir and Montigny, and told his companions, that he had a great deſire to meet the French. He was on horſeback all that day, and rode along the borders of the foreſt of Mourinaulx. Towards evening he heard, that the duke of Normandy and all his hoſt were lodged on the banks of the river Selle; upon

which

which he ſaid he would awaken them, and rode on that evening, and about midnight he and his company forded the river. When they had all paſſed, they regirthed their horſes, and ſet themſelves to rights, and advanced in ſilence to the quarters of the duke. When they were near, they ſpurred on their horſes, and at one ruſh drove into the middle of the duke's hoſt, crying out, 'Fauquemont!' They laid well about them, cutting down tents and pavilions, and killing or wounding all whom they met. The army then, being roufed, armed as quickly as they could, and drew near to where the buſtle was: but the lord of Fauquemont, ſeeing that it was time, collected his people, and retreated moſt handſomely.

Of the French, there was killed the lord of Requigny from Picardy. The viſcount de Queſnes, and Rouvroy with one eye, were made priſoners; and ſir Anthony de Coudun was ſeverely wounded.

When the lord of Fauquemont ſaw, that nothing more could be done, he ſet off with all his people, and croſſed the Selle without hindrance, for he was not purſued. They rode eaſily forward, and came to Queſnoy about ſunriſe, when the quartermaſter general, ſir Thierry de Walcourt, opened the gates to them.

The duke of Normandy ordered his trumpets to ſound the next morning at day-break, for his army to prepare themſelves, and to croſs the Selle, and advance further into Hainault.

The marſhal of Mirepoix, the lord of Noyſieres, ſir Galois de la Beaume, and ſir Thibault de Mar-

neil,

neil, advanced firſt with four hundred lances, beſides thoſe armed with brigandines, and came before Queſnoy, even up to the barriers: they made a feint as if they intended to attack it; but it was ſo well provided with men at arms and heavy artillery, they would only have loſt their pains. Nevertheleſs they ſkirmiſhed a little before the barriers; but they were ſoon forced to retire, for thoſe of Queſnoy let them hear their cannons * and bombards, which flung large iron bolts in ſuch a manner, as made the French afraid for their horſes —ſo they retreated and burnt Grand Wargny and Petit Wargny, Frelaines, Famars, Martre, Semery, and Artre, Sariten, Turgies, Eſtinen; and the Hainaulters fled from theſe towns to Valenciennes. The French afterwards encamped their battalions upon the hill of Caſtres near Valenciennes, where they lived in a rich and ſplendid manner.

During their ſtay there, about two hundred lances, commanded by the lord of Craon; the lord of Maulevrier, the lord of Mathefelon, the lord of Avoir, and ſome others, went towards Main, and attacked a large ſquare tower, which for a long time had belonged to John Vernier of Valenciennes,

* It has generally been ſuppoſed, that cannons were firſt uſed at the battle of Creey, four years later: but as the ſame words are expreſſed in all my copies of Froiſſart, whether printed or in manuſcript, I cannot but believe they were employed when he mentions it. It is moſt probable, that artillery was firſt uſed in the defence of towns; and Edward, ſeeing the advantage that could be derived from cannons, employed them at the battle of Crecy.

but

but of late to John de Neufville. The aſſault was ſharp and ſevere, and laſted the whole day; nor could they make the French retire before night, although five or ſix were killed. Thoſe within defended themſelves right valiantly, and did not ſuffer any loſs.

A greater number of the French marched to Trie, intending, on their arrival, to paſs over the Scheld; but thoſe of the town had deſtroyed the bridge, and defended that paſſage: nor could the French ever have conquered it, if ſome among them had not been acquainted with the fords of the river and the country, who conducted upwards of two hundred men to the foot bridge at Prouvy.

When theſe had croſſed over, they came and fell upon the men of Trie, who, being few in number in compariſon to them, were not able to reſiſt; ſo they took to their heels, and many of them were killed and wounded.

The feneſchal of Hainault left Valenciennes that day, accompanied, at the utmoſt, with one hundred men at arms, by the gate of Douzaing, to ſuccour the inhabitants of Trie, who he thought would have enough to do. It happened that, a little beyond St. Waaſt, he met about twenty-five light-horſe of the French, commanded by three knights from Poitou—the lord Boucicault, who was afterwards a marſhal of France, the lord of Surgeres, and ſir William Blondel: they had paſſed over the bridge very near to Valenciennes, which is called the bridge of La Tourelle, and is over the Vincel.

When

When the ſeneſchal perceived them, he ſtuck ſpurs into his horſe, and with his lance overthrew the lord Boucicault, made him his priſoner, and ſent him to Valenciennes. The lord of Surgeres ſaved himſelf by flight; but ſir William Blondel ſurrendered himſelf to ſir Henry d'Uſphaliſe; and almoſt all the others were either killed or taken priſoners.

This done, the ſeneſchal haſtened towards Trie; but he was too late, for the French had already conquered it before he came, and were buſily employed in pulling down the mills, and deſtroying a ſmall caſtle that was there. As ſoon as the ſeneſchal arrived, they had not much leiſure for ſuch things, for they were driven back, killed, and cut down. Some were forced to leap into the river Scheld, and many were drowned. Thus was the town of Trie liberated.

The ſeneſchal afterwards croſſed the Scheld at a place called Denaing, and rode on with all his company to the caſtle of Verchin, which he entered in order to defend it, ſhould there be any occaſion.

The duke of Normandy ſtill remained upon the hill of Caſtres, his army drawn out, the greater part of the day; for he thought that thoſe of Valenciennes would come and give him battle. This they would willingly have done, if ſir Henry d'Antoing, who commanded in the town, had not prevented them. He poſted himſelf at the gate that leads to Cambray, and had much pain and trouble to hinder them from going out. John de Vaſſey, provoſt of the town, who was there

there with him, appeaſed them as well as he could, and gave them ſuch good reaſons for their remaining quiet, that at laſt they were ſatisfied.

When the duke of Normandy had ſtaid for a conſiderable time on this hill, and ſaw that no one made any attempt to come out of Valenciennes to fight with him, he ſent the duke of Athens, the marſhals of France, the earl of Auxerre, and the lord of Chaſtillon, with about three hundred lances, well mounted, to ſkirmiſh cloſe to the town. They advanced in good order, and came to that ſide of it oppoſite the Tourelle at Gogueb, and even to the very barriers; but they did not ſtay long, as they were afraid of the ſhot hurting their horſes. The lord of Chaſtillon, however, advanced ſo forward, that his horſe was hit, fell under him, and he was obliged to mount another.

This detachment then changed its courſe, and went towards the marſhes, where they burnt and deſtroyed all the mills upon the river Vincel: they then made a circuit behind the Carthuſian convent, and returned to their army.

Some ſtragglers, however, had remained behind at les Marles, to forage more at their eaſe. When thoſe who were guarding a neighbouring town, which belonged to the heirs of Hainault, (though formerly to ſir Robert de Namur, by the lady Iſabella his wife,) perceived them, and that the main body had retreated, they iſſued out of the town, attacked them, killed one half, took all their forage, and re-entered it without any loſs.

The army remained in battle array upon the mount of Caſtres until the afternoon, when the ſcouts returned from all ſides. There was then a great council held; the chiefs ſaid, that, every thing conſidered, they were not in ſufficient force to attack ſo large a town as Valenciennes; and it was at laſt finally determined, that they ſhould retire to Cambray. They ſet out, therefore, and came to Main and Fontenelles, where they took up their quarters for that night, and kept a ſtrong watch. The next day they marched away; but burnt Main and Fontenelles, and alſo the convent which belonged to Madame de Valois, ſiſter german to the king of France. The duke was much vexed at this, and had thoſe who ſet it on fire hanged.

In their retreat, they completed the burning of the town of Trie and its caſtle; the mills were alſo deſtroyed. Prouvy, Rommency, Thyan, Moncheau, and all the flat country between Cambray and Valenciennes, ſuffered in the ſame manner.

The duke this day came before Eſcaudoure, a ſtrong and good caſtle, belonging to the earl of Hainault, ſituate upon the Scheld, which had been of great annoyance to Cambray. When the duke had been only ſix days before it, the governor, ſir Gerard de Saſſegines, who before this had never been reproached for any thing, nor can I ſay by what means he was bewildered to do ſo, ſurrendered it undamaged, to the great ſurpriſe of all the country, who ſtrongly ſuſpected both the governor and his eſquire, named Robert Marinaux, of treaſon. They were

were taken, inculpated, and both died afterwards in a miſerable manner at Mons, in Hainault. The inhabitants of Cambray demoliſhed this caſtle of Eſcaudoure, and carried the ſtone into their town, to repair their own dwellings and the fortifications.

CHAP. XLVII.

THE GARRISON OF DOUAY MAKES AN INCURSION INTO OSTREVANT, DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE EARL OF HAINAULT IN ENGLAND AND IN GERMANY.

AFTER the deſtruction of the caſtle of Eſcaudoure, duke John of Normandy retired to Cambray, diſmiſſed the greater part of his army, and ſent the reſt to the caſtle of Douay, and to the other fortreſſes in the neighbourhood.

This week the garriſon of Douay, in conjunction with thoſe of Liſle, made a ſally, in number about three hundred lances: they were commanded by ſir Lewis of Savoy, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Villars, ſir Gallois de la Baume, the lord of Waurain, and the lord of Vaſiers: they burnt in Hainault all that fine country of Oſtrevant; ſo that nothing remained but the fortreſſes.

When thoſe of Bouchain ſaw all this fire and ſmoke round about them, they were in a violent rage, the more ſo, as they were unable to prevent it: but they ſent meſſengers to Valenciennes, to let them know what was going forwards, and to inform

them, that if in the night-time they would ſally out with five or ſix hundred lances, they might attack the French to great advantage, who were lying at their eaſe in the flat country. But thoſe of Valenciennes were not of the ſame opinion, and would not leave their town; ſo the French made a great booty, and burnt the town of Anich, one half of Eſcoux, Eſcaudaing, Erin, Montigny, Santain, Varlain, Vargny, Ambreticourt, Laurche, Sauch, Roelt, Neufville, Lieu St. Amand, and all the villages which were in that country. They carried off with them immenſe wealth.

When this detachment had retreated to Douay, thoſe of Bouchain marched out, and burnt the other half of Eſcoux, which belonged to the French, and the French villages, even to the gates of Douay and the town of Eſquerchin.

I have before mentioned, that all the towns on the frontiers were well garriſoned; ſo that there were frequent ſkirmiſhings between the two parties, and many gallant deeds performed.

It chanced, about this time, that there were ſome German ſoldiers, whom the biſhop of Cambray had ſtationed at Male-maiſon, two leagues diſtant from Chateau Cambreſis, and bordering on the other ſide of Landrecy, where the lord of Potrelles, a Hainaulter, commanded; for the earl of Blois, although lord of it, had ſurrendered it to the earl of Hainault at the time he was attached to the French intereſt, and the earl had kept poſſeſſion of it. There were frequent quarrels between the Germans

at Male-maiſon and thoſe of Landrecy, who often came well mounted and armed up to the walls of the town.

One day, as they ſallied forth to make an excurſion and collect pillage, news of it was brought to the lord of Potrelles, in Landrecy, who immediately armed himſelf and his companions, and mounted his horſe to recapture the booty. The lord of Potrelles was followed by his men as faſt as they could. He fixed his ſpear in the reſt, and cried out to the French to turn about, as it was a diſgrace to them to run away. Among them was a gallant eſquire, named Albert of Cologne, who, being aſhamed of this flight, inſtantly turned back, and couching his lance, ſpurred his horſe violently againſt the lord of Potrelles, who ſtruck him ſuch a blow on his ſhield, that his lance was ſhivered to pieces; but the German eſquire hit him ſo ſtrongly with a firm ſpear, which broke not, but pierced through the plates of his ſhield, and even his armour, paſſing ſtraight to his heart, that he knocked him off his horſe, wounded to death; which when his brother Hainaulters, the lord of Banſiers, ſir Gerard and ſir John Maſtin, ſaw, and the reſt who had come out of Landrecy with him, they attacked the French ſo roughly, in revenge for the loſs of their captain, that they diſcomfited them. Few eſcaped death, or being made priſoners. The pillage was recovered and brought back with the priſoners to Landrecy, as was the dead body of the lord of Potrelles.

After the death of the lord of Potrelles, the lord of Floron commanded in Landrecy and its dependencies for a long time. He made frequent ex-

curſions upon thoſe of Male-maiſon, Chateau Cambreſis, and other places on the frontiers. The Hainaulters did ſo one day, and the French returned the compliment the next; of courſe many mortal combats happened. The country of Cambreſis was in great tribulation, for one half of it was burnt or deſtroyed; the duke of Normandy was ſtill on the frontiers, and it was not known what his next intentions were; nor had they any news of the earl of Hainault.

True it is that he had been in England, where he was moſt honourably entertained by the king and barons, and had made a ſtrong alliance with the king. He had left England, and gone into Germany, to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, which was the reaſon of his long abſence.

On the other hand, the lord John of Hainault was in Brabant and Flanders, and had remonſtrated with the duke and Jacob von Artaveld, upon the deſolation of Hainault, and entreated them, on the part of his countrymen, that they would give them aid and advice. They replied, that the abſence of the earl could not be much longer; and the moment he returned, they would be ready equipped to follow him, wherever he ſhould chooſe to lead them.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO THIN L'EVEQUE.

DURING the time the duke of Normandy lay in Cambray, the biſhop and the inhabitants of that place informed him, that the Hainaulters had taken

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by aſſault the ſtrong caſtle of Thin; and they entreated him, out of love and honour, and by his regard to the country, that he would uſe his endeavours to regain it, as the garriſon was a great annoyance to all the neighbourhood.

The duke then ſent a freſh ſummons to his army, and got together a number of lords and men at arms, who were in Artois and Vermandois, and who had been with him in his former excurſion. He ſet out from Cambray with all his hoſt, and took up his quarters before Thin upon the river Scheld, in thoſe fine meadows nearly oppoſite to Oſtrevant, ordering many large engines to be brought from Cambray and Douay. Among theſe were ſix of an immenſe ſize, which the duke had pointed againſt the fortreſs, and which flung huge ſtones into it day and night, beating down the roofs and the tops of the towers; ſo that it was not ſafe to remain in the chambers, and the people were obliged to take refuge in the vaults.

This attack was ſeverely felt by thoſe within, and none ever ſuffered more for their honour than this garriſon. The captains, upon whom fell all the weight and trouble, were ſir Richard Limoſin, an Engliſhman, and two eſquires of Hainault, John and Thierry, brothers to ſir Walter Manny. They encouraged their companions, by ſaying, 'Gallant gentlemen, the earl of Hainault will ſurely come in a few days, and attack the French, to deliver us honourably out of our danger, and will give us his warmeſt thanks for having ſo boldly defended ourſelves.'

The beſiegers by their engines flung dead horſes and other carrion into the caſtle, to poiſon the garriſon by their ſmell; and this diſtreſſed it more than any thing elſe, for the air was as hot as in the middle of ſummer: they therefore having conſidered their ſituation, and that they could not long hold out, from the horrible ſtench, propoſed a treaty for a truce to laſt fifteen days, during which time they would let ſir John of Hainault, who was regent and governor of the country, be informed of their diſtreſs, and, if they were not then relieved, they would ſurrender the place.

This treaty was accepted, which gave great comfort to thoſe within the caſtle. The garriſon ſent off an eſquire, named Eſtralart de Sommain, according to the terms of the treaty, who came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the lord of Beaumont, who had had intelligence from his nephew the earl of Hainault, that he was returning to his own country, after having been in Germany, where he had made alliances with the emperor and other lords of the empire, who were friendly to the king of England.

The lord of Beaumont aſſured the eſquire Eſtralart de Sommain, that the garriſon of Thin ſhould very ſhortly be relieved, but that his nephew muſt firſt return.

Before this truce expired, the earl arrived in Hainault, which cauſed great joy to the inhabitants, as he had been impatiently wiſhed for.

The lord of Beaumont related to him all that had paſſed ſince his departure, and with what a powerful

ful army the duke of Normandy had invaded his territories, burning and deſtroying all his villages and lands, as far as Valenciennes, except the fortreſſes.

The earl anſwered, that he would have ample amends, and the kingdom of France was ſufficiently extenſive, to make him full ſatisfaction for all theſe ill deeds; but, firſt of all, he was anxious to go towards Thin l'Evêque, to the relief of thoſe good men, who had ſo loyally and ſo honourably defended it: he iſſued therefore his commiſſions, and ſent letters of entreaty to his good friend Jacob von Artaveld, in Flanders, to the dukes of Gueldres and Juliers, and others in Germany, and went himſelf to Valenciennes with a large body of men at arms, knights, and eſquires of his own country. His forces increaſed every day; and he ſet off with a grand array of tents, pavilions, and other ordinances and proviſions, and encamped at Nans, upon the fine meadows and plains along the banks of the Scheld.

Of the lords of Hainault, there were, ſir John of Hainault, the lord d'Anghien, the lord of Verchin, the ſeneſchal of Hainault, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Barbenſon, the lord of Lens, ſir William de Bailleul, the lord of Havereth, governor of Mons, the lord of Montegny, the lord of Barbais, ſir Thierry de Walcourt, marſhal of Hainault, the lords of Aſmede and of Gommegines, the lord of Briſeul, the lord of Roiſin, the lord of Traſegmes, the lord of Lalain, the lords of Maſtin, Sars, Vargny,

Vargny, Beaurieu, and many others, who encamped themſelves near to the earl, their lord.

Soon after the earl of Namur arrived, handſomely attended by two hundred lances, and poſted himſelf upon the river Scheld, adjoining the army of the earl.

The duke of Brabant came next with ſix hundred lances; and then the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Mons, the lord of Fauquemont, ſir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and many other lords and men at arms from Germany and Weſtphalia, who encamped themſelves upon the river Scheld near each other, and oppoſite to the French. They were plentifully ſupplied with proviſion from Hainault, and from the adjacent countries.

When theſe lords had thus encamped themſelves upon the Scheld between Nans and Illois, as we have juſt related, the duke of Normandy, who was on the oppoſite bank, and with him a great number of other gallant men at arms, ſent to inform the king of France, his father, that the army of the earl was encreaſing every day. The king, who was at that time at Peronne, in the Vermandois, where he had been for ſix weeks with a great many nobles, iſſued out his ſpecial orders for raiſing a large body of men, and ſent upwards of twelve hundred good lances to the army of his ſon, and ſoon after followed himſelf, as a ſimple ſoldier, for he could not enter the empire with the command of an army without breaking his oath, which made him act thus. The duke was appointed chief of this enterpriſe; never-

theleſs nothing was done without the approbation of the king.

When the garriſon of Thin l'Evêque ſaw the earl of Hainault arrive with ſo powerful an army, they were, as may be thought, mightily rejoiced.

The fourth day after they had been there, thoſe of Valenciennes came with a handſome body of men, led by John Boiſſy, who at that time was provoſt of the town. They were immediately ordered out to ſkirmiſh with the French upon the Scheld, to examine their forces, and to ſhew themſelves to the garriſon.

Many different ſkirmiſhes paſſed between each army, in which numbers were killed and wounded. Sir Richard Limoſin and his companions in Thin l'Evêque, perceiving them warmly engaged, quitted the caſtle, and embarked on the Scheld in boats, which had been prepared for them, and paſſed over to the oppoſite ſhore: they were carried to the earl of Hainault, who received them moſt joyfully and honourably, for the good ſervices they had done him, and for their ſufferings in the caſtle.

Whilſt theſe two armies were thus encamped upon the Scheld, the French on the ſide of France, and the Hainaulters near their own country, the foragers of each ſide ſcoured the country; but they never met, for the river was between them: the French, however, burnt all that part of Oſtrevant which had eſcaped before, as did thoſe of Hainault that of Cambray.

Jacob von Artaveld came to the aſſiſtance of the earl of Hainault, according to his requeſt, with upwards

wards of ſixty thouſand Flemings, all well armed, and poſted himſelf ſtrongly oppoſite to the French.

Immediately after their arrival, the earl ſent his heralds to his couſin the duke of Normandy, to ſay he was ready for battle, and that it would be a very great ſhame, if ſuch fine armies ſhould ſeparate without an engagement. The duke gave the herald for anſwer, that he would ſummon his council, and conſider of it. This council laſted ſo long, that the herald returned without any anſwer. Three days afterwards the earl ſent again to the duke, to know poſitively what his intentions and thoſe of his army were. The duke replied, that he had not yet finally determined upon fighting, and could not therefore fix a day, adding, moreover, that the earl was too haſty.

When this was told to the earl, he looked upon it only as an excuſe for delay; he therefore ſent for all the commanders of his army, explained to them his intentions and wiſhes, and alſo the anſwers he had received, and deſired to have their opinions upon the ſubject. They looked at each other: at laſt the duke of Brabant, who was the principal commander, ſpoke for all, and ſaid, that he objected to throwing a bridge over the Scheld and fighting the French; for, to his certain knowledge, the king of England would very ſoon paſs the ſea, in order to beſiege Tournay; and he had promiſed him, upon his faith and love, to give him every aid and aſſiſtance in that enterprize. 'Now,' added he, 'if we fight the French, and ſhould be unfortunate, he cannot have that ſuccour he expects from us; and,

ſhould

ſhould it be otherwiſe, he will not give us much thanks; it is therefore my opinion, that, as he is the chief of the war, we ſhould never engage with the forces of France, but when the king of England is preſent. Now when we ſhall be before Tournay, and he there with us, it would give me much uneaſineſs, that the French king and his army ſhould depart without a battle; I therefore adviſe, dear ſon, that you decamp from this place, where you ſtay at a very heavy expenſe, and that all ſhould return homewards, for within theſe ten days we ſhall hear from the king of England.'

The greater part of the lords agreed to this opinion. But the earl of Hainault was much diſſatisfied, and thought his honour would ſuffer, ſhould the French retire without an action. He begged and entreated of them, and of all the barons in general, that they would not leave him, but conſent to his wiſhes. After this the council broke up, and each returned to his quarters. Thoſe from Bruſſels and Louvain would very cheerfully have returned home, for they were ſo worn down with fatigue, they could ſcarce ſupport themſelves; and they frequently complained to their captains, that they remained at a great expenſe and did nothing.

When the earl found that the council differed in opinion, and were not unanimous to croſs the Scheld and fight the French, he called his uncle to him, and ſaid, 'Dear uncle, will you take a ride along the river ſide, and call to you ſome man of honour from the French army, and tell him from me, that I will throw a bridge over the river; that

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I am willing and eager to fight at all events; but I aſk a truce for three days to build it.'

The lord of Beaumont, ſeeing the eagerneſs of his nephew, complied with his requeſt, went home to prepare himſelf, and rode along the banks of the Scheld, accompanied with two other knights, the lord of Fagnoelez and ſir Florens de Biaurieu, with his pennon alone borne before him. Perceiving on the oppoſite bank a knight from Normandy, whom he knew by his arms; he called to him—'My lord of Maubuiſſon, my lord of Maubuiſſon, I wiſh to ſpeak to you.' The knight, who knew him, ſtopped his horſe, and aſked what were his commands. 'I ſhall beg of you,' ſaid the lord of Beaumont, 'to have the kindneſs to go to the king of France and to his council, and ſay, that the earl of Hainault has ſent me to aſk a truce for the time neceſſary to throw a bridge over this river, in order that our armies may paſs. You will bring me here the anſwer, and I will wait for you.' 'By my faith, that I will cheerfully do,' ſaid the knight: when ſticking ſpurs into his horſe, he galloped up to the king's tent, where the duke of Normandy and a great many of the nobility were. 'He related his meſſage, and had ſhortly this anſwer:—'My lord of Maubuiſſon, you will tell him who has ſent you hither, that it is our intention to keep the earl of Hainault in the ſame ſtate in which he is at preſent; and we will make him mortgage his lands; for he ſhall be attacked on all ſides, and, whenever we pleaſe, we will enter ſo far into his country, that we will burn the whole of it.'

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The lord of Maubuiſſon brought back this anſwer, word for word, to the lord of Beaumont, who was waiting for him on the bank. He thanked him for the trouble he had given him, and returned to the earl of Hainault, whom he found playing at cheſs with the earl of Namur. As ſoon as he ſaw his uncle, he roſe up, and aſked what news he had brought him. 'Sir,' ſaid ſir John, 'from what I ſee, the king of France takes much pleaſure in making you keep up ſuch forces at ſo great an expenſe, and declares he will make you expend and mortgage all your lands; and whenever it ſhall be his pleaſure, and not yours, he will fight with you.'

The earl was much angered at this, and ſwore it ſhould be otherwiſe.

CHAP. XLIX.

THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH BEFORE SLUYS.

WE will now leave the duke of Normandy and the earl of Hainault, and ſpeak of the king of England, who had embarked for Flanders, in order to go to Hainault to aſſiſt his brother-in-law in his war againſt France. He and his whole navy ſailed from the Thames the day before the eve of St. John the Baptiſt, 1340, and made ſtrait for Sluys.

Sir Hugh Quiriel, ſir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoir, were at that time lying between Blanckenburgh and Sluys with upwards of one hundred and twenty

twenty large veſſels, without counting others: theſe were manned with about forty thouſand men, Genoeſe and Picards, including mariners. By the orders of the king of France, they were there at anchor, waiting the return of the king of England, to diſpute his paſſage.

When the king's fleet was almoſt got to Sluys, they ſaw ſo many maſts ſtanding before it, that they looked like a wood. The king aſked the commander of his ſhip what they could be, who anſwered, that he imagined they muſt be that armament of Normans, which the king of France kept at ſea, and which had ſo frequently done him much damage, had burnt his good town of Southampton, and taken his large ſhip the Chriſtopher.

The king replied, 'I have for a long time wiſhed to meet with them, and now, pleaſe God and St. George, we will fight with them; for, in truth, they have done me ſo much miſchief, that I will be revenged on them, if it be poſſible.'

The king then drew up all his veſſels, placing the ſtrongeſt in the front, and on the wings his archers. Between every two veſſels with archers there was one of men at arms. He ſtationed ſome detached veſſels as a reſerve, full of archers, to aſſiſt and help ſuch as might be damaged.

There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, counteſſes, baroneſſes, and knights and gentlemen's wives, who were going to attend on the queen at Ghent: theſe the king had guarded moſt carefully by three hundred men at arms and five hundred archers.

When

When the king of England and his marſhals had properly divided the fleet, they hoiſted their ſails to have the wind on their quarter, as the ſun ſhone full in their faces, which they conſidered might be of diſadvantage to them, and ſtretched out a little, ſo that at laſt they got the wind as they wiſhed.

The Normans, who ſaw them tack, could not help wondering why they did ſo, and ſaid they took good care to turn about, for they were afraid of meddling with them: they perceived, however, by his banner, that the king was on board, which gave them great joy, as they were eager to fight with him; ſo they put their veſſels in proper order, for they were expert and gallant men on the ſeas. They filled the Chriſtopher, the large ſhip which they had taken the year before from the Engliſh, with trumpets and other warlike inſtruments, and ordered her to fall upon the Engliſh.

The battle then began very fiercely; archers and croſs-bowmen ſhot with all their might at each other, and the men at arms engaged hand to hand: in order to be more ſucceſsful, they had large grapnels, and iron hooks with chains, which they flung from ſhip to ſhip, to moor them to each other. There were many valiant deeds performed, many priſoners made, and many reſcues.

The Chriſtopher, which led the van, was recaptured by the Engliſh, and all in her taken or killed. There were then great ſhouts and cries, and the Engliſh manned her again with archers, and ſent her to fight againſt the Genoeſe.

This battle was very murderous and horrible. Combats at ſea are more deſtructive and obſtinate than upon land, for it is not poſſible to retreat or flee—every one muſt abide his fortune, and exert his proweſs and valour.

Sir Hugh Quiriel and his companions were bold and determined men, had done much miſchief to the Engliſh at ſea, and deſtroyed many of their ſhips; this combat, therefore, laſted from early in the morning until noon, and the Engliſh were hard preſſed, for their enemies were four to one, and the greater part men who had been uſed to the ſea.

The king, who was in the flower of his youth, ſhowed himſelf on that day a gallant knight, as did the earls of Derby, Pembroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Glouceſter; the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Felton, lord Bradeſtan, ſir Richard Stafford, the lord Percy, ſir Walter Manny, ſir Henry de Flanders, ſir John Beauchamp, ſir John Chandos, the lord Delaware, Lucie lord Malton, and the lord Robert d'Artois, now called earl of Richmond. I cannot remember all the names of thoſe who behaved ſo valiantly in the combat; but they did ſo well, that, with ſome aſſiſtance from Bruges, and thoſe parts of the country, the French were completely defeated, and all the Normans and the others were killed or drowned, ſo that not one of them eſcaped. This was ſoon known oll over Flanders; and when it came to the two armies before Thin l'Evêque, the Hainaulters were as much rejoiced as their enemies were diſmayed.

After

After the king had gained this victory, which was on the eve of St. John's day, he remained all that night on board of his ſhip before Sluys, and there were great noiſes with trumpets and all kinds of other inſtruments.

The Flemings came to wait on him, having heard of his arrival, and what deeds he had performed. The king inquired of the citizens of Bruges after Jacob von Artaveld, and they told him he was gone to the aid of the earl of Hainault with upwards of ſixty thouſand men, againſt the duke of Normandy.

On the morrow, which was Midſummer-day, the king and his fleet entered the port. As ſoon as they were landed, the king, attended by crowds of knights, ſet out on foot on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Ardembourg, where he heard maſs and dined. He then mounted his horſe, and went that day to Ghent; where the queen was, who received him with great joy and kindneſs. The army and baggage, with the attendants of the king, followed him by degrees to the ſame place.

The king had ſent notice of his arrival to the lords that were before Thin l'Evêque oppoſing the French, who, as ſoon as they heard of it, and of his victory over the Normans, broke up their camp. The earl of Hainault diſbanded all his troops, except the principal lords, whom he carried with him to Valenciennes, and treated moſt nobly, eſpecially the duke of Brabant and Jacob von Artaveld.

Jacob von Artaveld, in the full market-place, explained the right king Edward had to the crown

of France to all thoſe lords that choſe to hear him, and of what importance it was to the three countries, that is to ſay, Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, when cloſely united. He ſpoke ſo clearly, and with ſo much eloquence, that he was praiſed by all, who agreed that he was worthy to exerciſe the dignity of earl of Flanders.

Theſe lords then took their leave, and agreed to meet in eight days time at Ghent, to ſee the king. He received them all moſt courteouſly, as did the queen, who was but lately recovered from her lying-in of a ſon, called John, afterwards duke of Lancaſter, in the right of his wife, the lady Blanche, daughter of Henry duke of Lancaſter. A day of conference was then appointed to be held at Vilvorde.

CHAP. L.

ROBERT, KING OF SICILY, ENDEAVOURS TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

WHEN king Philip of France heard of the defeat of his fleet, and that the king of England was quietly landed in Flanders, he was much enraged; but as he could not amend it, he immediately decamped, and retreated towards Arras. He diſmiſſed the greater part of his army, until he ſhould receive other news: but he ſent ſir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, to adviſe them in any difficulties, and to ſee that the city was well provided, for he was more in fear of the Flemings than of any other people.

He

He placed the lord of Beaujeu in Mortaigne, to guard the frontiers toward Hainault, and ſent ſtrong bodies of men at arms to St. Omer, Aire, and St. Venant; he alſo formed ſufficient magazines in the countries bordering upon Flanders.

At this time Sicily was governed by a king named Robert, who was much renowned as a great aſtrologer; he had prohibited the king of France and his council for ever engaging the Engliſh when commanded by their king, for in ſuch caſes he was ever to be unfortunate. This king was very deſirous of bringing about a reconciliation between thoſe of France and England, being ſo ſtrongly attached to the crown of France, that he would have been much hurt at any calamity which might have impaired its luſtre.

The above mentioned king went to Avignon to repreſent to pope Clement, and his college of cardinals, the great evils, which might befal the realm of France from the quarrels of the two kings, and entreat of them to undertake the part of mediators in appeaſing this diſaſtrous war. The pope and the college replied, they would very willingly do their beſt endeavours, provided the two kings would liſten to them.

CHAP. LI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND HIS ALLIES HOLD A CONFERENCE AT VILVORDE.

THE conference holden at Vilvorde was attended by the following perſonages; firſt, the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the earl of Hainault

and his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blankenberg, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord of Fauquemont, the lord William de Dunort, the earl of Namur, Jacob von Artaveld, and many other lords. Three or four men were ſent by each of the principal towns in Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, by way of council from them.

The three countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, there entered into a treaty, that thenceforward they would ſuccour and aſſiſt each other in every poſſible caſe; they then formed an alliance, with covenants, that if either of the three were attacked by any one whatever, the other two ſhould immediately come to his aſſiſtance; and if at any future period two of them ſhould quarrel, then the third ſhould ſetttle the matters of difference between them; and if he ſhould not be in ſufficient force ſo to do, that then it ſhould be laid before the king of England, in whoſe hands theſe covenants had been declared, and ſworn to be duly maintained, as the power that ſhould at laſt make peace between them. Many ſtatutes were then ſworn and agreed to, which afterward turned out ill. But for a further confirmation of their love and friendſhip, they ordered coins to be ſtruck, that ſhould be current in theſe three countries, which were ſtyled companions or allies.

It was there alſo determined, that the king of England ſhould put himſelf in motion about Magdalen tide, and lay ſiege to the city of Tournay; and all the lords preſent promiſed to be there, as well as the forces from the principal towns: they then ſet off

for

for their homes, to get ready and prepare themſelves properly for the buſineſs.

CHAP. LII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND BESIEGES THE CITY OF TOURNAY WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.

KING Philip, ſoon after the departure of theſe lords, was informed of all that had paſſed, and what reſolutions had been entered into at this conference, and how king Edward was to come to Tournay; he therefore determined to provide it ſo well with ammunition, &c., and with ſo many good knights, that the city ſhould be well ſerved and well adviſed. He ſent directly to the city of Tournay the flower of his chivalry; the earl Raoul of Eu, conſtable of France, the young earl of Guines, his ſon, the earl of Foix and his brothers, the earl of Aymery and Narbonne, the lord Aymery of Poitiers, the lord Geoffry of Chargny, the lord Gerard of Montfaucon, his two marſhals, the lord Robert Bertrand and lord Matthew de Trie, the lord of Caieux, ſeneſchal of Poitou, the lord of Chatillon, and ſir John of Landas, who had with them many knights and eſquires renowned in arms. The king entreated of them earneſtly, that they would pay ſo much care and attention to Tournay, that nothing unfortunate might happen, which they all promiſed him. They took leave of the king of France, left Arras, and arrived at Tournay, where they found ſir Godemar du Fay, who had been ſent thither before them. He received them joyfully,

as did thoſe of the town; and, after having well examined the purveyances which were there, as well of artillery as of proviſion, they ordered great quantities of corn, oats, and other articles of food, to be brought into it from the country round about, ſo that the city was in a good ſtate to hold out for a long time.

To return to the king of England, who, when the time for being before Tournay approached, and the corn was nearly ripe, ſet out from Ghent, accompanied by ſeven earls from his own country, two prelates, twenty-eight bannerets, two hundred knights, four thouſand men at arms, and nine thouſand archers, without counting the foot ſoldiers. He paſſed through the town of Oudenarde, croſſed the Scheld, and encamped before Tournay, near St. Martin's gate, on the road to Liſle and Douay.

Soon after came his couſin, the duke of Brabant, with upwards of twenty thouſand men, knights and eſquires, and the companies from the different towns. The Brabanters were encamped at Pontaries upon the Scheld (a dependance of the abbey of St. Nicholas,) as you return from the fields by the gate Valentinois.

The earl of Hainault came with the fine cavalry of his country, with many Dutchmen and Zealanders, who attended upon his perſon as their lord. The earl was encamped between the king of England and the duke of Brabant.

Jacob von Artaveld came next with more than forty thouſand Flemings, not reckoning thoſe from Ypres, Poperingue, Caſſel, and Bruges, who were ordered

ordered to another part, as you will hear preſently. He was quartered near the gate St. Fontaine, on both ſides of the Scheld, over which they had thrown a bridge of boats, that they might have free intercourſe.

The duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blankenberg, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, ſir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and all the Germans, were ſtationed on the ſide towards Hainault; ſo that the city of Tournay was very completely ſurrounded. Each diviſion of the army had open communication with the other, and no one could enter or come out of the city without permiſſion, or without being ſeen.

CHAP. LIII.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT DESTROYS THE TOWNS OF SECLIN AND ORCHIES.

THIS ſiege of Tournay laſted a long time. The army that lay before it was plentifully and cheaply ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions, for they were brought to them from all the neighbouring countries.

Many gallant actions were performed; for the earl of Hainault, who was very bold and enterpriſing, took this war to heart, reflecting as he did that his country had ſuffered ſo much at its commencement, and headed every excurſion. He ſet out one morning very early from the camp with five hundred lances, and paſſing below Liſle, burnt the good town

town of Seclin, and many villages in its neighbourhood. His light horſe advanced even as far as the ſuburbs of Lens, in Artois.

All this was related to his uncle, king Philip, at Arras, who, though very angry, could not at this time help it.

After this excurſion the earl took another route, and advanced towards the capital town of Orchies, which was taken and burnt, for it was not encloſed. Landas and Celle ſhared the ſame fate, as well as many conſiderable villages thereabouts. They ſcoured the country, and took a very great booty, with which they retreated to the army before Tournay.

At the ſame time, the Flemings made frequent and ſtrong aſſaults on Tournay: they built boats, moveable towers, and other machines of offence, with which they every day battered the town. Skirmiſhes very frequently took place, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides; and the Flemings exerted themſelves to conquer or damage Tournay, ſo much had this war irritated them; and they ſay there is never any diſcord ſo bitter, as that between neighbours and friends.

Among theſe attacks there was one which laſted a whole day: much valour was ſhown, for all the knights that were in Tournay were preſent. It was intended, by means of boats and other machines, to have forced and broken the barriers of the poſtern of the bridge; but they were ſo gallantly defended, that the Flemings made no impreſſion, but loſt a veſſel, in which there were one hundred and twenty men,

men, who were drowned; ſo they retreated towards evening, ſorely tired.

During this ſiege ſome ſoldiers made an excurſion from St. Amand, where there was a ſtrong body, and came to Haſnon, which belonged to Hainault, burnt the town, violated the nunnery, deſtroyed the monaſtery, and took with them all they could carry off to St. Amand.

Shortly after theſe ſame ſoldiers ſet out again, and having paſſed through the wood of St. Amand, came to the monaſtery of Vicogne, with the intent to pillage and deſtroy it: they made a great fire before the gate in order to burn it. When the abbot perceived in what danger he was, he ſet off directly on horſeback, and riding behind the wood, came to Valenciennes in great haſte, where he requeſted the provoſt to let him have ſome croſs-bow men; whom, having obtained, he led behind Raimes, and poſted them in the wood looking towards Pourcelet, and upon the cauſeway. Thence they began to ſhoot upon the ſoldiers and Genoeſe, before the gates of Vicogne, who no ſooner felt the arrows, ſhowering upon them from the woods, than they were panic ſtruck, and ran off as faſt as they could. By theſe means was the monaſtery ſaved.

About this time the earl of Liſle was in Gaſcony, carrying on the war, by orders from the king of France. He had already taken and recaptured all the country of Acquitaine, and kept the field with upwards of four thouſand horſe; he had beſieged Bourdeaux by ſea and land. The earl had with him the flower of the chivalry of the marches of

Gaſ-

Gaſcony—the earl of Perigord, the earl of Cominges, the earl of Carmaing, the earl of Villemort, the viſcount Brumquet, the lord de la Borde, and many other knights and barons, and nothing reſiſted them but the fortreſſes, which the Engliſh garriſons carefully guarded. Many gallant feats of arms were performed in this country, of which we ſhall ſpeak in proper time and place; for the preſent we muſt return to Scotland, and ſee what is going on there during this ſiege of Tournay.

CHAP. LIV.

THE SCOTS RECOVER GREAT PART OF THEIR COUNTRY, DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

THE reader ſhould be informed, that ſir William Douglas, ſon of the brother of ſir James Douglas, who was killed in Spain *, the earl of Moray, the earl Patrick of Dunbar, the earl of Sutherland, ſir Robert Keith, ſir Simon Fraſer, and Alexander Ramſay, had remained as governors of the remnant of Scotland, that was not in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. During the ſpace of ſeven years they had ſecreted themſelves in the foreſt of Jedworth, in winter as well as ſummer, and thence had carried on a war againſt all the towns and fortreſſes, wherein king Edward had placed any garriſons, in which

* Celebrated in Scottiſh ſtory under the name of the knight of Liddeſdale.—Lord Haile mentions him *alone* as being ſent on the embaſſy to France,—Robert the Stewart was regent of the kingdom.

many,

many perilous and gallant adventures befel them, and from which they had acquired much honour and renown.

While king Edward was beyond ſea before Tournay, the king of France ſent over ſome forces to Scotland; which arrived ſafe in the town of Perth; and he entreated the noblemen above mentioned, to carry on ſo bitter a war in England, that king Edward ſhould be obliged to deſiſt from his preſent enterpriſe before Tournay, promiſing them every aid and aſſiſtance; in conſequence of which theſe lords collected their forces, and made themſelves ready. They quitted the foreſt of Jedworth, traverſed Scotland, retook as many fortreſſes as they were able, paſſed by Berwick, and, croſſing the river Tyne, entered Northumberland, which was formerly a kingdom of itſelf, where they found plenty of fat cattle. Having deſtroyed and burnt the whole country as far as Durham, and even beyond it, they returned by another road, doing the ſame to all the countries they paſſed through; ſo that all the country on the borders of England, to the extent of three days' journey, was completely ruined and deſtroyed. They then re-entered Scotland, and gained all the fortreſſes which the king of England held, except the good town of Berwick, and three other caſtles, which annoyed them much, and which are ſo ſtrong, that you will ſcarcely find their equals for ſtrength in any country; one is called Stirling, the other Roxburgh, and the third, which may be ſtyled the ſovereign of Scotland, Edinburgh. This laſt, is ſituate upon a high rock, commanding a view of the

the country round about; and the mountain has ſo ſteep an aſcent, that few can go up it without ſtopping twice or thrice.

The governor of it at that time was a gallant Engliſh knight, called ſir Walter Limouſin, brother german to him who had ſo gallantly defended the caſtle of Thin l'Evêque againſt the French.

A bold thought came into ſir William Douglas's mind, which he mentioned to his companions, the earl of Dunbar, ſir Robert Fraſer, who had been tutor to king David of Scotland, and Alexander Ramſay, who all agreed to try to execute it.

They collected upwards of two hundred lances of Highlanders, went to ſea, and purchaſed oats, oatmeal, coal, and ſtraw, and landed peaceably at a port about three miles from the caſtle of Edinburgh, which had made a ſtronger reſiſtance than all the other caſtles.

When they had armed themſelves, they iſſued forth in the night time; and having choſen ten or twelve from among them, in whom they had the greateſt confidence, they dreſſed them in old threadbare clothes, with torn hats, like poor tradeſmen, and loaded twelve ſmall horſes, with a ſack to each filled with oats, meal, or coal; they then placed the reſt in ambuſcade in an old abbey that was ruined and uninhabited, cloſe to the foot of the mountain, on which the caſtle was ſituate.

At daybreak, theſe merchants, who were privily armed, took the road with their horſes the very beſt way they could towards the caſtle. When they had got about half way up the hill, ſir William Douglas

and ſir Simon Fraſer advanced before the others, whom they ordered to follow in ſilence, and came to the porter's lodge. They informed him, that they had brought, with many riſks and fears, coal, oats, and meal, and, if there were any want of ſuch articles, they ſhould be glad to diſpoſe of them, and at a cheap rate. The porter replied, that the garriſon would thankfully have them, but it was ſo early, that he dared not awake either the governor or his ſteward: at the ſame time he told him to come forward, and he would open the other gate. They all then paſſed quietly through, and entered with their loads to the gate of the barriers, which he opened for them.

Sir William Douglas had remarked, that the porter had all the great keys of the caſtle gates, and had in an apparently indifferent manner inquired which opened the great gate and which the wicket. When the firſt gate was opened, they turned in their nags, and flung off the loads of two, which conſiſted of coal, directly upon the ſill of the gate, ſo that it could not be ſhut, and then ſeized the porter, whom they ſlew ſo ſuddenly, that he did not utter a word. They then took the keys, and opened all the gates; and ſir William Douglas gave a blaſt upon his horn, as a ſignal for his companions: they then flung off their torn clothes, and placed all the remainder of the coal between the gates, ſo that they could not be ſhut.

When thoſe in the ambuſcade heard the horn, they ſallied forth, and haſtened forwards to the caſtle.

The noiſe of the horn awakened the watch of the caſtle, at that time aſleep, who, ſeeing theſe armed men running up the caſtle hill, blew luſtily on his horn, and bawled out, 'Treaſon! treaſon! Arm yourſelves, my maſters, as faſt as you can, for here are men at arms advancing to our fortreſs.' They all rouſed themſelves as quickly as they could, and when armed came to the gate; but ſir William and his twelve companions defended the gate, ſo that it could not be ſhut. The combat then grew hotter; but thoſe from without maintained their ground with great valour, until their ambuſcade arrived.

The garriſon made a very gallant defence, killing and wounding many of their enemies; but ſir William and his party exerted themſelves ſo much, that the fortreſs was taken, and all the Engliſh killed, except the governor and ſix eſquires, to whom they ſhowed mercy.

The Scots remained in the caſtle all that day, and appointed for governor a ſquire of that country, called ſir Simon de Veſci, and left with him many of his countrymen.

This news was brought to the king of England whilſt he lay before Tournay.

CHAP. LV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY, IN ORDER TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

IT has been before related in what manner the king of England had beſieged the city of Tournay, and that he preſſed it very cloſe; for he had upwards of one

one hundred and twenty thouſand men, including the Flemings, who behaved very well in all their attacks. The commanders within the city, finding their proviſions beginning to get low, ſent out from it all thoſe who had not laid in a proper quantity for the occaſion. They were driven out about the middle of the day, and paſſed through the army of the duke of Brabant, who took compaſſion on them, and had them conducted in ſafety to king Philip at Arras; he had remained there all this time, whilſt thoſe within Tournay were in great diſtreſs, and had need of aſſiſtance and advice.

The king of France publiſhed a ſpecial ſummons throughout this kingdom, and alſo in many parts of the empire, for the levying of forces. It had ſo good an effect, that Charles, king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Bar, the biſhop of Metz, the biſhop of Verdun, the earl of Montbeliard, the lord John of Chalons, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Savoy, the lord Lewis, his brother, came to ſerve under the king of France, with as many men as they could collect together.

There came to him alſo the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the earls of Alençon, Flanders, Foretz, Armagnac, Blois, Harcourt, and Dammartin, the lord Charles of Blois, the lord of Coucy, and many other knights and barons.

The king of Navarre afterwards came with a number of men at arms, to ſerve for the lands he held in France, and for which he was a homager to the king. The king of Scotland was alſo there, under the appointment of the king of France, and had a handſome body of men given to him.

CHAP. LVI.

SOME OF THE GARRISON OF BOUCHAIN DEFEAT A BODY OF SOLDIERS FROM MORTAGNE*, BEFORE THE TOWN OF CONDE.

WHEN all theſe lords above-mentioned, and many others, were come to Arras, the king of France advanced to a ſmall river, which is about three leagues diſtant from Tournay. It was very deep, and the country about it ſo marſhy, that it could not be croſſed, but by a very narrow cauſeway, on which two men would have difficulty to paſs abreaſt.

The king and his army encamped in the fields, as they could not croſs this river. The next day they remained there alſo; and the lords about the king held a couneil, on the beſt means of building bridges, to paſs over this river and the quagmires in ſafety. They ſent ſome knights and armed men to examine the paſſages, who, after having well conſidered them, reported that it would be pains thrown away, and that there was no other means of croſſing this river and country, but by the Pont à Treſſin. Every thing, therefore, remained as before, and each lord took up his quarters among his own men.

The news was ſoon ſpread abroad, that the king of France and his army were encamped between the bridges of Treſſin and Bovines, with the intention of giving his enemies battle; ſo that all men of

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* *Mortagne*—a ſmall town in Flanders, near the confluence of the Scarpe and Scheld, three leagues from Tournay.

honour,

honour, who were deſirous of fame, went and joined one ſide or other, as pleaſed them beſt.

Three German knights, who were in garriſon at Bouchain, heard, as others had done, that the two kings were near each other, and it was thought they would fight. Upon which two of them urged and entreated their companion that he would conſent to remain in Bouchain, to guard and preſerve it until they returned, and that they would make an excurſion as far as Tournay, to ſeek adventures, and to ſee how things were going on.

The two knights ſet out, whoſe names were ſir Courrat d'Aſtra and ſir Courrat de Lancenuch; they rode till they came to Eſtampons, above Valenciennes, for they were deſirous of croſſing the Scheld at Condé.

Between Freſnes and Eſtampons they heard a noiſe, and met many people running away; upon which they ſpurred their horſes, and puſhed on towards the place from whence the outcry came, with their whole company. They were all together about twenty-five lances. They inquired of the firſt they met the meaning of all the noiſe and flight: 'Oh Lord, gentlemen,' ſaid they, 'the ſoldiers from Mortagne have made an incurſion upon us, and have collected a large booty in this neighbourhood, which they are driving to their fortreſs, together with many priſoners they have taken.'

The two knights aſked if they could conduct them to the road theſe ſoldiers were going? Upon their anſwering in the affirmative, they purſued the French of Mortagne, and followed theſe honeſt men,

who ſhewed them a way through the woods, ſo that they gained ground upon them, near to Nôtre Dame aux Bois.

The French were full one hundred and twenty men, and they were driving before them two hundred large cattle, with ſome peaſants priſoners. Their captain was a knight from Burgundy, called ſir John de Frelais, under the orders of the lord of Beaujeu.

As ſoon as the Germans perceived them they ſet up a loud ſhout, and ruſhed on full gallop. The combat was very ſharp, for the Burgundy knight made a gallant defence, as well as ſome of his company, but not all, for ſeveral of them betook themſelves to flight; but they were ſo cloſely purſued by the Germans and peaſants of the country, who had armed themſelves with ſtakes, that few eſcaped death. Sir John de Frelais was taken, and all the booty recaptured and given to the proprietors, who were very thankful to the Germans ever after. The knights then went forwards to Tournay, where they were very well received.

CHAP. LVII.

SIR WILLIAM DE BAILLEUL, AND SIR VAUFLART DE LA CROIX, MAKE AN EXCURSION TO PONT A TRESSIN.

SOON after the king of France had taken up his quarters, with his army, near the bridge of Bovines, a company of Hainaulters put themſelves in motion

motion by the exhortations of ſir Vauflart de la Croix, who told them he knew all the country well, and he could lead them to a part of the French army which they would be ſure of conquering. About one hundred and twenty of them, knights and ſquires, ſet out one day, through love to each other, to do ſome deeds of arms, and advanced towards Pont à Treſſin. They made the lord of Bailleul their captain, and it was under his banner that they were to enliſt.

That ſame morning, ſome of the Ligeois made alſo an excurſion, under the command of ſir Robert de Bailleul, brother-german to the above-mentioned ſir William de Bailleul, for he had made a promiſe to do this to the biſhop of Liege, and was bound to execute it with his whole company. The Ligeois had paſſed Pont à Treſſin, were foraging for their horſes, and looking out to ſee if they could find any chance to profit by.

The Hainaulters had rode on, and paſſed the bridge, without meeting with any one; for there was ſuch a fog that they could not diſtinguiſh any thing at the diſtance of a lance's length. When all had paſſed the bridge, they ordered ſir William de Bailleul, and his banner, to remain there, and ſir Vauflart de la Croix, ſir Raflet de Monceaux, and ſir John de Verchin, to advance as far as the quarters of the king of Bohemia, and biſhop of Liege, which were near the bridge, and to attack them.

The lord of Rodemach had had the guard that night of the army of the king of Bohemia, and was

on the point of retiring, when the light horſe of the Hainaulters appeared. They attacked them, as they came up, very valiantly, and they were repulſed alſo by the Ligeois. The conflict was ſharp, and the Hainaulters behaved themſelves well.

To ſecure a retreat, however, to their banner, the Hainaulters drew towards the bridge, where they were followed by thoſe of Liege and Luxembourg, and the engagement was renewed.

Sir William de Bailleul was adviſed to recroſs the bridge with his banner, for many of his people remained there; and many a gallant deed was performed, many a capture made, and many a reſcue. Sir Vauflart unluckily was not able to gain the paſſage of the bridge, ſo he got out of the crowd, and ſaved himſelf the beſt way he could, by taking a road he was acquainted with, and hiding himſelf among thorns and quagmires, where he remained a conſiderable time.

The reſt ſtill continued the combat; but the Ligeois, and thoſe from Luxembourg, had overthrown ſir William de Bailleul.

Whilſt this was paſſing, ſir Robert's company, who had been out foraging, returned, and, hearing the noiſe, came to the bridge. Sir Robert ordered his banner to advance, which was carried by a ſquire called James de Forſines, crying out, 'Moriennes.' The Hainaulters, who were much heated, perceiving the banner of Moriennes, which is quite ſtraight, thought it was their own, which they had been ordered to rally under, for there is but very little difference between the two; the Morienne -

arms having bars counterbarred with two chevrons, gules, and the chevron of ſir Robert had on it a ſmall croſs or.

The Hainaulters made a ſad miſtake, and ran into the midſt of ſir Robert's troop, who received them moſt fiercely, repulſed and diſcomfited them. They loſt, on their ſide, ſir John de Vargny, ſir Walter de Pont à l'Arche, ſir William de Pipempoix, ſir John de Soire, ſir Daniel de Bleze, ſir Race de Monceaux, ſir Lewis Dampelu, and many other knights and ſquires. Sir William de Bailleul ſaved himſelf in the beſt manner he could, but he loſt a great many of his men.

Sir Vauflart de la Croix, who had hid himſelf among the reeds in the marſhes, hoped to have remained there until the night, but he was perceived by ſome troopers, who were riding through theſe marſhes: they made ſuch a ſhouting and noiſe, that ſir Vauflart came out and ſurrendered himſelf to them, who led him to the army, and gave him up to their commander. He detained him a whole day in his quarters, and would willingly, through pity, have ſaved him, as he knew his head would probably ſuffer. But the king of France, having heard of it, wiſhed to take cognizance of it himſelf; ſo ſir Vauflart was given up to him, and the king ſent him to Liſle, where, as he had done much harm to the inhabitants, they would not accept of any ranſom, but put him to death.

CHAP. LVIII.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT ATTACKS THE FORTRESS OF MORTAGNE IN VARIOUS MANNERS.

THE king of France was much rejoiced at the arrival of ſir Robert de Bailleul, and his defeat of the Hainaulters.

Shortly afterwards, the earl of Hainault, ſir John his uncle, the ſeneſchal of Hainault, with full ſix hundred lances, Hainaulters and Germans, ſet out from the ſiege before Tournay. The earl had ſent orders for thoſe of Valenciennes to take another rout, and place themſelves between the Scarpe and the Scheld, to attack the town of Mortagne. They came there in a large body, and brought with them many engines, to throw things into the place.

I have before told how the lord of Beaujeu had been ſent thither as govenor: He had expected an attack, from the ſituation of Mortagne upon the Scheld, and bordering upon Hainault, and had driven upwards of twelve hundred pilēs into the bed of the river, to prevent its navigation.

It was not long before the earl, and his Hainaulters, arrived on one ſide of the town, and the Valenciennois on the other: they made preparations for an immediate attack. The Valenciennois ordered their croſs-bowmen to ſhoot, and advance to the barriers; but they were unable to do ſo, for the wide and deep trenches which had been made before them. They then bethought themſelves to croſs the Scarpe, at any rate, below chateau l'Abbaie, and paſſing

paſſing near St. Amand, to make an aſſault upon the gate which opens towards Mande. This they executed; and full four hundred light troops armed croſſed the river, and Mortagne's three gates were beſieged. The weakeſt was certainly that leading to Mande; however, that was tolerably ſtrong.

At that poſt the lord of Beaujeu placed himſelf; for he knew that all the reſt were ſafe. He had armed himſelf with a very ſtout lance, having the head of tempered ſteel, and on the under ſide a ſharp hook, ſo that, when he made his ſtroke, he could fix the hook into the jackets, or armour, of thoſe who attacked, draw them to him, and make them fall into the river. By this means, in the courſe of the day, he caught and deſtroyed more than twelve of the aſſailants. At this gate, the conflict was much more ſevere than any where elſe, and the earl of Hainault was ignorant of it: he was hard by towards Briſnal, drawn out in order of battle upon the bank of the Scheld. The lords took council how they might draw out the piles, either by force or ingenuity, from the bed of the river, ſo that they might advance upon it up to the walls of the town. They ordered an engine to be made in a large veſſel, to draw them out one after another; and all the carpenters were directly ſet upon this buſineſs. This ſame day the Valenciennois, on their part, erected a handſome engine, which caſt ſtones into the town and caſtle, and much annoyed the inhabitants of Mortagne.

In this manner paſſed the firſt day, and the following night in aſſaulting and deviſing upon the beſt means to moleſt the town.

On

On the morrow, they returned to the attack on all ſides. The third day the veſſel and engine were ready to draw out the piles, and thoſe ordered upon that duty were ſet to work, but they had ſo much trouble and labour in drawing out one, that the lords thought they ſhould never accompliſh it, and therefore made them deſiſt.

There was, at that time, a very able engineer at Mortagne, who, having conſidered the machine of the Valenciennois, and how much it annoyed the town, for it was perpetually in action, made another in the caſtle, which was not very large, but well made and tempered, and ſo well pointed, that it was uſed only three times; the firſt ſtone fell within twelve paces of the engine of the Valenciennois; the ſecond was nearer to the box; and the third was ſo well aimed, that it ſtruck the machine upon the ſhaft, and ſplit it in two. The ſoldiers of Mortagne made a great ſhouting at this event. The Hainaulters were thus two days and two nights before Mortagne without conquering any part of it. The earl and his uncle thought it adviſable to return towards Tournay, which they did; and the Valenciennois went back to their town, whence they had come.

CHAP. LIX.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES THE TOWN OF ST. AMAND, DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

THREE days after the earl of Hainault had been returned from before Mortagne, he made a requeſt to his companions, that they would come with

with him to St. Amand; for he had received many complaints of the ſoldiers of St. Amand having burnt the monaſtery of Hanon, and of their attempt to do the ſame to Vicoigne, as well as of many other vexations, which they had committed upon the borders of Hainault.

The earl ſet out from the ſiege of Tournay with three thouſand combatants, and came before St. Amand by the way of Mortagne, which town was only incloſed with a paliſade. A knight from Languedoc, and ſeneſchal of Carcaſſonne, was governor of it, and he had told the monks of the abbey, as well as the inhabitants, that it was not tenable againſt any body of men; not that he meant to give it up, but, on the contrary, to defend it as long as he could, and mentioned it merely as a piece of information.

Theſe words were not much attended to, or believed; however, he had ſome time before ſent to Mortagne all the jewels of the monaſtery, and thither went alſo the abbot and his monks, who were not very well calculated to defend themſelves.

The Valenciennois, who had been ordered by the earl, their lord, to be before St. Amand on a certain day, as he would be there to meet them, came with twelve thouſand combatants, and poſting themſelves before the town, armed all the croſs-bowmen, and made them advance towards the bridge over the Scarpe.

The conflict was here very ſharp: it laſted all that day, without the Valenciennois being able to make any impreſſion; but they had a great many of their men killed and wounded, and the beſieged, mocking

ing them, called out, 'Go your ways, and drink your good ale.' Towards the evening they retired from before the town, much wearied and ſurpriſed that they had not heard any tidings of their lord: they called a council, and reſolved to return back to their own town.

On the morrow after their departure, the earl of Hainault arrived, as has been ſaid, by the way of Mortagne, and he immediately began the attack: it was ſo violent, that the barriers were inſtantly won, and they advanced to the gate which opens towards Mortagne. The earl and his uncle headed this attack: they fought moſt valiantly, and ſpared none. Each of them at this place received two ſuch blows, from ſtones thrown down upon them, that their helmets were ſplit through, and themſelves quite ſtunned.

One preſent then ſaid to the earl, 'Sir, we ſhall never do any thing effectual in this place, for the gate is very ſtrong, the paſſage narrow, and it will coſt you too many of your people to gain it; but if you will order ſome large beams of wood to be brought, and ſhod with iron, in the manner of piles, and ſtrike with them againſt the walls of the monaſtery, I will promiſe you that you will make breaches in them in many places: if once we get into the monaſtery, the town is ours, for there is nothing to ſtop us between it and the town.'

The earl ordered this advice to be followed, for he perceived it was reaſonable, and the ſhorteſt method of getting poſſeſſion of the town. Great beams of oak were brought, formed, and ſharpened like piles, and to each were ordered twenty or thirty

thirty men, who, bearing it in their hands, retreated ſome paces, and then ran with it with great force againſt the wall, which they battered down in many places, ſo that they entered valiantly, and croſſed a ſmall rivulet.

The ſeneſchal of Carcaſſonne was there, with his banner diſplayed before him, which was gules, with a chef argent, three chevrons in chief, and an indented border, argent, and near him were collected many companions from his own country, who received the Hainaulters very gallantly, and fought as well as they were able, but it was in vain, as they were overpowered by numbers. It may be worth remembering, that, on their entering the monaſtery, there remained a monk, called ſir Froiſſart, who did wonders, killing and wounding, at one of the breaches where he had poſted himſelf, upwards of eighteen, ſo that no one durſt venture to paſs through: at laſt he was forced to fly, for he perceived that the Hainaulters were entering the monaſtery by various other breaches: the monk, therefore, made off as faſt as he could, and ſaved himſelf in Mortagne.

As ſoon as the earl, ſir John, and the knights of Hainault, had entered the monaſtery, the earl ordered no quarter to be given, ſo much was he enraged at the violences they had committed in his territories. The town was ſoon filled with ſoldiers, who purſued all they met from ſtreet to ſtreet, and from houſe to houſe: very few eſcaped being put to death.

The ſeneſchal was ſlain under his banner, and upwards of two hundred men with him. The earl returned that evening to Tournay.

On

On the morrow, the men at arms of Valenciennes, and the commonalty, came to St. Amand, burnt the town, the monaſtery, and the great minſter: breaking and deſtroying all the bells, of which there were numbers of very good and melodious ones.

The earl of Hainault made another excurſion from the ſiege of Tournay, with about ſix hundred men at arms, in order to burn Orchies, Landas, and Le Celle. He afterwards croſſed, with his army, the river Scarpe, above Hanon, and, entering France, came before a large and rich monaſtery at Marchiennes, of which ſir Aymé de Vervaulx was governor, who had with him a detachment of croſsbowmen from Douay. The attack was violent, for the knight had ſtrongly fortified the firſt gate, which was ſurrounded by wide and deep ditches; and the French and monks withinſide defended themſelves valiantly.

The Hainaulters exerted themſelves much; and, having procured boats, they by this means gained entrance into the monaſtery, but a German knight, attached to the lord of Fauquemont, was drowned; his name was ſir Bacho de la Wiere.

At the attack of the gate, the earl, his uncle, the ſeneſchal of Hainault, and many others, proved themſelves ſuch good knights, that the gate was gained, ſir Aymé ſlain, and the greater part of the others. Many monks, who were there, were captured, the monaſtery pillaged, and burnt, as well as the village. The earl, after this, returned, with his army, again to Tournay.

CHAP.

CHAP. LX.

SIR CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY, AND MANY OTHERS OF THE FRENCH, CAPTURED AT PONT A TRESSIN.

THE ſiege of Tournay laſted a long time, and the town held out well; but the king of England thought he muſt gain it, for he knew that there were within it great numbers of men at arms, and a ſcarcity of proviſion, which would oblige them to yield through hunger. But others ſaid, that they would find ſupplies through the country of the Brabanters, who permitted frequent and large quantities of proviſions to paſs through their army, and even to enter the town. Thoſe from Bruſſels and Louvain were quite weary of remaining there ſo long, and petitioned the marſhal of their army for leave to return to Brabant. The marſhal replied, that he was very willing to conſent to their departure, but they muſt leave their arms and accoutrements behind them. This made them ſo aſhamed, that they never again repeated their requeſt.

During this ſiege, the Germans made an excurſion towards Pont à Treſſin, where ſir Robert de Bailleul had defeated the Hainaulters. The lord of Rauderondenc, ſir John of Rauderondenc his ſon, at that time a ſquire, ſir John de Randebourg, a ſquire alſo, and tutor to the lord of Rauderondenc's ſon, ſir Arnold de Bacqueghen, ſir Reginald d'Eſcouvenort, ſir Courrat d'Aſtra, ſir Baſtien de Baſties, Candrelier, his brother, the lord Strauren de

de Leurne, with many others, from the duchies of Juliers and Gueldres, held a conference together, and reſolved to make an excurſion on the morrow, by break of day; for which purpoſe they armed, and prepared themſelves well that night.

Some knights-bachelors* from Hainault joined them; among whom were ſir Florent de Beaurieu, ſir Latas de la Haye, marſhal of the army, the lord John of Hainault, ſir Oulphart de Guiſtelles, ſir Robert Glewes, from the county of Los, at that time only a ſquire, and many more; amounting altogether to upwards of three hundred good men at arms. They came to Pont à Treſſin, which they croſſed without loſs: they then held a council, on what would be the moſt advantageous plan for them to beat up and ſkirmiſh with the army of the French. It was determined, that the lord of Rauderondenc, and his ſon, ſir Henry de Kalkren, a mercenary knight, ſir Thilman de Sauſſy, ſir Oulphart de Guiſtelles, ſir l'Alleman baſtard of Hainault, ſir

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* The word *bachelor*, from whence has come *bachelier*, does not ſignify *bas chevalier*, but a knight who has not the number of *bachelles* of land requiſite to diſplay a banner; that is to ſay, *four bachelles*. The bachelle was compoſed of ten *maz*, or *meix*, (farms, or domains,) each of which contained a ſufficiency of land for the work of two oxen, during a whole year.

Gloſſ. du Droit. Fr. de Laurierd.

Bovatus Terræ. Tantum eſſe quantum bos unus colat; ſex bovatæ quantum ſex. In vet. autem ſtatutorum meſſ. ad compoſitionem menſurarum, ſic notatur. Octo bovatæ terræ faciunt carucatam terræ, octo carucatæ faciunt unum feodum militis. xviii. acræ faciunt bovatam terræ.

SPELMANNI GLOSSARIUM.

Robert

Robert Glewes, and Jacquelot de Thiaulx, ſhould act as light horſe, and ſkirmiſh up to the tents of the French; that the reſt of the knights and ſquires, who might amount to three hundred, ſhould remain at the bridge, to keep and defend that paſs, in caſe of any attack. This advanced body then ſet out: they were forty perſons altogether, well mounted upon handſome and ſtrong chargers: they road on till they came to the French camp, when they immediately daſhed in, and began to cut down tents and pavilions, and do every poſſible damage, by ſkirmiſhing with all that oppoſed them.

That night, two great barons, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of Saulieu, had the watch, and were with their guard, when the Germans fell upon them. As ſoon as they heard the noiſe, they and their banners moved towards it.

When the lord of Rauderondenc ſaw them approach, he turned his horſe about, and ordered his pennon and his party to puſh for the bridge, the French following him cloſely. In this chace, the French captured ſir Oulphart de Guiſtelles, for he could not follow their track, his ſight being indifferent. He was ſurrounded by the enemy, and made priſoner, as were two ſquires, of the names of Mondrop and Jacquelot de Thiaulx.

The French gallopped after them, but the Germans eſcaped; and, being ſcarcely more than half an acre ſeparated from them, they could plainly hear them crying out, 'Ha, gentlemen, you ſhall not return as eaſily as you came.' Then one of his party rode up to the lord of Rauderondenc, and

ſaid, 'Sir, conſider what you are about, or the French will cut us off from the bridge.' The lord of Rauderondenc replied, 'if they know one road to it, I know another;' and, turning to his right, led his party along a road tolerably well beaten, which brought them ſtraight to the river before mentioned, which is very deep, and ſurrounded by marſhes.

On their coming thither, they found they could not ford it, ſo that they muſt return, and paſs over the bridge. The French, thinking to cut off and take the Germans, went on, full gallop, towards the bridge. When they were come near to it, and ſaw the large body of men waiting for them, they ſaid to one another, 'We are making a fooliſh purſuit, and may eaſily loſe more than we can gain.' Upon which many turned back, particularly the banner-bearer of the lord of Saulieu, as well as that lord himſelf. But the lord of Montmorency would not retire, but puſhed forward courageouſly, and, with his party, attacked the Germans.

This attack was very fierce on both ſies, and each party had many unhorſed. Whilſt they were engaged, the light troops made a circuit, and fell upon their flank: notwithſtanding this, and the hard blows given, the French ſtood their ground. But ſir Reginald d'Eſcouvenort, knowing the banner of Montmorency, under which the knight was, with ſword in hand, dealing his blows about him, came upon his right, and, with his left hand ſeizing the reins of his horſe, ſtuck ſpurs into his own, and drew him out of the combat. The lord of Montmorency gave many blows with his ſword upon the

the helmet and back of ſir Reginald, which at once broke and received them. However, the lord of Montmorency remained his priſoner, and the Germans fought ſo well, that they maintained their ground, and made fourſcore gentlemen priſoners. They then repaſſed the bridge without hindrance, and returned to Tournay, where each retired to his own quarters.

CHAP. LXI.

THE FLEMINGS ADVANCE TO ST. OMER DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

WE will now relate an adventure which happened to the Flemings, under command of ſir Robert d'Artois and ſir Henry de Flandres. They amounted to upwards of forty thouſand, from the towns of Ypres, Poperingue, Malines, Caſſel, and Caſtlewick of Bergues.

Theſe Flemings were encamped in great array in the valley of Caſſel, to oppoſe the French garriſons which king Philip had ſent into St. Omer, St. Venant, Aire, and other towns and fortreſſes in that neighbourhood. By the king of France's orders, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lords of Kaleuhen, Montay, Rochefort, the viſcount de Touars, and many other knights from Auvergne and Limouſin, poſted themſelves in St. Omer. In St. Venant, and in Aire, there were alſo a great many knights.

The Flemings frequently ſkirmiſhed with the French; and one day, to the number of four or five thouſand lightly armed, they came to the ſuburbs

of St. Omer, pulled down may houſes, and pillaged wherever they could.

The alarm was inſtantly ſpread in the town: the lords who were there ſoon armed themſelves, and their men, and ſallied out at the gate oppoſite to where the Flemings were. They might amount to about ſix banners, two hundred armed with helmets, and ſix hundred infantry. They made a circuit round St. Omer, as their guides, who were well acquainted with the road, led them, and came opportunely upon the Flemings, who were buſily employed in collecting every thing they could find in the town of Arques, which is cloſe to St. Omer, ſo that they were diſperſed about, without officers, and without order. The French attacked them thus unawares, with banners diſplayed, and lances in their reſts, in regular order, crying out, 'Clermont, Clermont, for the dauphin of Auvergne.'

When the Flemings heard this, they were ſore alarmed; and, not attempting to rally in any order, they fled as faſt as they could, throwing down all the pillage they had gotten. The French purſued them, and killed and knocked them down in great numbers. This purſuit laſted full two leagues: there were four thouſand eight hundred ſlain, and four hundred captured, who were carried to St. Omer, and there impriſoned. When thoſe few, who had eſcaped, arrived at their own army, and related what had happened to them, it ſoon came to the ears of their captains, who told them, they had deſerved what had befallen them, for they had done this without orders, and without a leader.

About

About midnight, as theſe Flemings were aſleep in their tents, ſo ſudden an alarm and fright came upon them, that they all got up, and could not make ſufficient haſte to decamp. They directly pulled down their tents and pavilions, flung them into the baggage-waggons, and took to their heels, without waiting for any one, or keeping any order or regular road.

When the two commanders heard of this, they got up in the greateſt haſte, and ordered large fires, and torches to be lighted: they mounted their horſes, and, galloping after the Flemings, ſaid to them, 'Sirs, tell us what has ailed you, that you fly thus, when no one purſues you; you ought to think yourſelves very ſecure, and yet you are ſtill going on. Return back, for God's ſake: you are exceedingly to blame, to run away without being purſued.'

But, notwithſtanding all their entreaties, they would not ſtop, and each took the neareſt way he could find to his own home.

Theſe lords, perceiving they could not prevail with them, ordered their baggage to be packed up in the waggons, and came to the ſiege of Tournay, where they related to the chiefs what had happened to the Flemings, which ſurpriſed all: ſome ſaid, they muſt have been bewitched.

CHAP. LXII.

THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY RAISED, BY MEANS OF A TRUCE.

THE ſiege of Tournay had laſted a long time; eleven weeks all but three days; when the lady Joan de Valois, ſiſter to the king of France, and mother to the earl of Hainault, took great pains with both parties to make up a peace, ſo that they might ſeparate without a battle. The good lady had frequently, on her knees, beſought it of the king of France, and afterwards came to the lords of the empire, eſpecially to the duke of Brabant, and the duke of Juliers, who had married her daughter, and to the lord John of Hainault.

She at laſt ſo far prevailed, by the help and aſſiſtance of the lord Lewis d'Augimont, who was well beloved by both parties, that a day was fixed for a negotiation, when each of the parties was to ſend five well qualified perſons to treat upon the beſt means of bringing about a reconciliation, and a truce for three days was agreed upon.

Theſe commiſſioners were to meet at a chapel, ſituated in the fields, called Eſplotin. On the day appointed, having heard maſs, they aſſembled after dinner, and the good lady with them.

On the part of the king of France, there came Charles king of Bohemia, Charles earl of Alençon, the king's brother, the biſhop of Liege, the earl of Flanders, and the earl of Armagnac.

On

On the part of the king of England, there came the duke of Brabant, the biſhop of Lincoln, the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, and the lord John of Hainault.

When they had all entered this chapel, they ſaluted each other moſt politely, with every mark of reſpect: they then began on the buſineſs, and the whole day paſſed in diſcuſſing the beſt means to accompliſh what they were met for. The lady Joan entreated of them reſpectfully, but with much earneſtneſs, that they would exert themſelves to bring about a peace: this firſt day, however, paſſed without any thing being decided, when they all ſeparated, promiſing to return on the morrow.

The next day they came to their appointment, began upon the treaty as before, and fell upon ſome arrangements which ſeemed likely to end to their mutual ſatisfaction; but it was too late that day to put them in writing: ſo they ſeparated, with a promiſe of returning on the morrow to complete and finiſh it.

The third day theſe lords returned, and agreed upon a truce, to laſt for one year, between the two kings and all the allies that were preſent, as well as between thoſe who were carrying on the war in Scotland, Gaſcony, Poictou, and Saintonge; and it was in theſe countries, to take place forty days from that day. Each party was to inform their adherents of the truce, and that they ſincerely meant to abide by it; but they were to be left to follow their own inclinations, adhering to it or not.

France, Picardy, Burgundy, and Normandy, agreed to it, without any exception; and this truce was to take place immediately in the armies of France and England.

The two kings alſo were to ſend four or five noble perſonages to Arras, where the pope was to ſend as many legates; and to whatever theſe perſons ſhould determine upon they promiſed moſt faithfully to accede.

One of the conditions of this truce was, that each perſon ſhould retain whatever he had got in his poſſeſſion.

The truce was immediately proclaimed in each army, to the great joy of the Brabanters, who were heartily tired of the ſiege.

The day after, at day-break, tents and pavilions were ſtruck, waggons loaded, and every one in motion to depart; ſo that any one who had been there before, and ſaw this, might have hailed a new æra.

Thus the good city of Tournay remained unhurt, but it had a narrow eſcape; for there were at that time no more proviſions in it than would have been ſufficient for three or four days.

The Brabanters began their march immediately, for they were very impatient to return. The king of England ſet out ſore againſt his will, but it behoved him to conſent to the will of others, and to agree to their councils.

The king of France could not well remain longer where he was, from the great ſtench of the dead cattle, and from the exceſſive heat of the weather.

weather. The French thought they had gained much honour in this buſineſs; giving for reaſon, that they had prevented the city of Tournay from being loſt, and ſeparated the large army which had lain before it and done nothing, notwithſtanding the great preparations that had been made.

The lords of the oppoſite party claimed the honour of this affair; becauſe they had remained ſo long in the kingdom of France, and beſieged one of the beſt towns the king had, burning and deſtroying his country before his eyes, and he not ſending any ſuccour or relief as he ought to have done; and laſtly, becauſe he had conſented to a truce with his enemies lying before his city, burning and waſting his kingdom.

Theſe lords then ſet out from Tournay, and returned to their own country.

The king of England went to Ghent, where his queen was, and ſoon after croſſed the ſea with all his people, except thoſe whom he left to attend the conference at Arras.

The earl of Hainault returned to Valenciennes; and upon that occaſion there were great entertainments, and a tournament at Mons in Hainault. Sir Gerard de Verchin, ſeneſchal of Hainault, was there, and tilted at this tournament, in which he was mortally wounded. He left behind him a ſon, called John, who was afterwards a bold and hardy knight, though he enjoyed but indifferent health.

The king of France diſbanded his army, and went to amuſe and refreſh himſelf at Liſle, where the principal perſons of Tournay came to ſee him.

He

He received them with great joy; and, as a mark of favour for having ſo gallantly defended themſelves againſt their enemies, ſo that they made no conqueſts from them, he granted them back their franchiſes, which they had loſt for ſome time. This made them very happy; for ſir Godemar du Fay, and many other knights, ſtrangers to them, had been made their governors: they, therefore, immediately elected provoſts and jurats from among themſelves, according to their ancient cuſtoms.

When the king had ſettled, to his liking, part of his buſineſs, he ſet out from Liſle, and took the road towards his good city of Paris.

The time approached for the meeting of the conference at Arras. Pope Clement VI. ſent, as his legates, the cardinal of Naples, and the cardinal of Clermont, who came to Paris, where they were received moſt honourably by the king of France, and then proceeded to Arras.

From the king of France, there came the earl of Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, the archbiſhop of Sens, the biſhop of Beauvais, and the biſhop of Auxerre.

On the part of the king of England, there were the biſhop of Lincoln, the biſhop of Durham, the earl of Warwick, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord John of Hainault, and the lord Henry of Flanders.

At this conference, there were many ſubjects brought forward for diſcuſſion, and a great deal of talk during the fifteen days which it laſted, but nothing poſitively determined upon; for the Eng-

liſh made large demands, which the French would not allow of; they agreed only to reſtore the county of Ponthieu, which had been given, as a marriage portion with Iſabella, to the king of England.

This conference, therefore, broke up without doing any thing, except prolonging the truce to two years, which was all that theſe cardinals could obtain. Every one returned homewards; and the cardinals took their road through Hainault, at the entreaties of the earl, who right nobly entertained them.

CHAP. LXIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DIES WITHOUT HEIRS, UPON WHICH A WAR ENSUES FOR THE SUCCESSION.

AS ſoon as the truce made before Tournay had been agreed to and ſealed, the lords and all others ſet off for their own countries. The duke of Brittany, who had attended the king of France with his army before Tournay, better accoutred than any other prince or lord, was, upon his return home, taken ill, inſomuch that he was obliged to ſtop, and his diſorder increaſed ſo faſt, that he died *.

* John III. duke of Brittany, died at Caen, 30th April 1341. His body was carried to the Carmelites of Ploermel. Charles de Louviur, who lived at that period, aſſures us, in his *Songe du Verger*, that duke John, ſeeing himſelf without children, declared the earl of Montfort his heir.

The

The duke, at his death, had no child, nor had the ducheſs, his wife, any expectations of one. He had a brother by his father's ſide, called the earl of Montfort, then living, and who had married the ſiſter of earl Lewis of Flanders. The duke had alſo another brother-german by father and mother, who was dead, but had left a daughter, whom her uncle, the duke, had married to the lord Charles of Blois, youngeſt ſon of Guy earl of Blois, by the ſiſter of king Philip of France, then reigning, and had promiſed her, on her marriage, the duchy of Britanny after his deceaſe, though, at the time, he was doubtful if the earl of Montfort would not claim it, as being neareſt of kindred, though he was not properly his brother-german.

It ſeemed to the duke, that the daughter of his brother-german ought, by reaſon of her proximity, to have the duchy after his death, in preference to the earl of Montfort, his brother. And as he had long had his ſuſpicions that the earl of Montfort would, after his deceaſe, enforce his claim, to the prejudice of his young niece, with all his power, he had married her to the lord Charles of Blois, with the intent that the king of France, his uncle, might more powerfully aſſiſt him in preſerving his rights, ſhould the earl of Montfort attempt to encroach on them.

As ſoon as the earl of Montfort knew of the death of the duke, his brother, he ſet off directly for the city of Nantes, which is the capital of Brittany, and exerted himſelf ſo much among the citizens, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood,

that

that he was received as their lord, as being the next relation to the duke juſt departed; and they all ſwore fealty and homage to him.

Then he, and his wife, who had the heart of a lion, took counſel together upon holding a ſolemn court, and a great feaſt at Nantes. Summons were ordered to be ſent to all the barons and nobles of Brittany, and to the councils of the great towns, inviting them to attend this court, to do their fealty and homage as to their true lord, which was done.

In the mean time, before the commencement of this feaſt, he ſet out from Nantes, with a great number of men at arms, and went towards Limoges, where he had been informed his brother had placed the large ſums he had amaſſed. On his arrival he entered the town in a moſt ſplendid manner, and was nobly and honourably received by the inhabitants, clergy, and commonalty of the place.

They all did him homage, as to their right lord; and the grand treaſury was delivered up to him, by the conſent of the lords and burgeſſes, whom he gained by the preſents and promiſes he made to them.

When he had feaſted and remained at Limoges as long as was agreeable to him, he departed with all the treaſure, and came directly to Nantes, where the lady, his wife, was expecting him. They continued there in private, with much joy, until the day arrived for the grand court and ſolemn feaſt,

feaſt, and made great preparations for the celebration of it.

On the day of the feaſt, no one appeared to the ſummons, but one knight, ſir Henry de Leon, who was a powerful and valiant man: neverthheleſs, they continued the feaſt for three days with the citizens of Nantes, and thoſe near the city, in the beſt manner they could. It was then reſolved to expend the great treaſure in obtaining poſſeſſion of the duchy, to collect a numerous body of ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, and to force all that ſhould rebel againſt him to aſk his mercy. This council was attended by all who were at Nantes, knights, clerks, and citizens. Soldiers were enliſted from all parts, and well paid; ſo that they ſoon had a large body of horſe, as well as foot, of thoſe that were noble, as well as thoſe that were not, and from all parts and countries.

CHAP. LXIV.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF BREST.

WHEN the earl of Montfort found that he had men in plenty, he was adviſed to go and poſſeſs himſelf, either by violent or gentle means, of all the country, and to ſubdue his enemies. He ſallied out, therefore, from Nantes, with a large army, and drew towards a very ſtrong caſtle, ſituated upon the ſea-coaſt, called Breſt: ſir Walter de

de Cliſſon was governor of it, a moſt noble knight, and one of the greateſt barons of Brittany.

The earl, in his march towards Breſt, ſo conquered all the country, except the fortreſſes, that the inhabitants followed him, on foot, or on horſeback, for they dared not leave him: he thereby had a numerous body of men at arms.

When he and his army were come before Breſt, he ordered ſir Henry de Leon to ſummon the governor, and require of him, in obedience to the earl of Montfort, as duke of Brittany, to ſurrender to him the caſtle and town of Breſt, as to his liege lord. The governor replied, he would do nothing in the buſineſs, until he ſhould have received orders from the lord to whom of right it belonged. The earl then retreated to a ſmall diſtance, and ſent challenges to thoſe of the town and caſtle. On the morrow, after he had heard maſs, he ordered his men to arm, and make an aſſault upon the caſtle, which was very ſtrong, and well provided with every thing.

The governor, ſir Walter de Cliſſon, on his part, was not inactive: he armed all the garriſon, who were full three hundred good fighting men, and ſent every one to the poſt he had aſſigned them, taking with him about forty of the braveſt, and advanced out of the caſtle, as far as the barriers.

The aſſailants came there to make their attack, which was very ſharp; and many of them were ſlain and wounded: the governor performed wonders; but at laſt, ſuch numbers came upon him, the earl urged them on ſo ſharply, and each exerted himſelf

himſelf ſo much, that the barriers were won, and the defenders of them forced to retire towards the caſtle with great loſs; for their opponents had fought luſtily: many were killed. The governor, however, comforted them as well as he could, and conducted them in ſafety to the chief gate. When thoſe who kept the ward of the gate perceived the defeat of the governor's party, they were afraid of loſing the caſtle, and let fall the portcullis, which ſhut them out: the knight, however, defended himſelf valiantly, though moſt of his party were killed or wounded: the governor, himſelf, though very badly wounded, would not ſurrender, in ſpite of all entreaties.

Thoſe within the caſtle exerted themſelves with their croſs-bows; and, by throwing large ſtones upon the aſſailants, forced them to retire, and gave an opportunity of raiſing a little the portcullis, ſo that the knight, and the remnant of his detachment, entered: all of them were dangerouſly wounded.

The next day, the earl of Montfort ordered machines to be made, and got ready to attack the caſtle more vigorouſly; and he declared, that nothing ſhould make him depart, until he had gained poſſeſſion of it.

On the third day he was informed that ſir Walter de Cliſſon was dead of the wounds he had received, which was confirmed. Upon this the earl ordered his men to arm themſelves, to renew the attack with vigour, and the machines which had been made to advance, and large beams of timber

to

to be thrown acroſs the trenches, in order to come to the walls of the caſtle. Thoſe within defended themſelves with their croſs-bows, and by throwing down upon the aſſailants ſtones, firebrands, and pots of hot lime, till towards mid-day, when the earl again ſummoned them to ſurrender; promiſing them indemnity for what was paſſed, on their acknowledging him as their lawful lord. Upon this they had a long conſultation, and the earl ordered a ceſſation of arms. After they had fully conſidered the propoſal, they freely ſurrendered themſelves, their perſons and effects being preſerved inviolate. The earl then entered the caſtle, with a few attendants, and received the fealty of all thoſe of the caſtlewick. He appointed a knight, in whom he had great truſt, as the governor of it, and returned, very well pleaſed, to his camp.

CHAP. LXV.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE CITY OF RENNES.

WHEN the earl had concluded this buſineſs, and had eſtabliſhed proper guards and garriſon in the caſtle of Breſt, he was adviſed to advance towards the city of Rennes, which was at no great diſtance.

He ordered his camp to be broken up, and the army to march towards Rennes: through all the country he paſſed, he made the inhabitants ſwear homage and fealty to him, as their liege lord, and

took as many with him as he could, to help and aſſiſt his army. None dared to refuſe him, for fear of their perſons. When he was arrived at Arras, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and placed his army round the town and ſuburbs.

Thoſe of the town made a ſhew of defending themſelves: their governor was ſir Henry de Spinefort, whom they much loved for his proweſs and loyalty. He one day made a ſally, with two hundred men, before the dawn, upon the enemy's camp, cutting down tents, and killing ſome few. Upon which the army cried out, 'to arms,' and made ready for their defence: thoſe who were upon guard, hearing theſe cries, and the ſtir, advanced to the place, and met thoſe of the town returning home. An attack commenced, which was boldly fought on both ſides; when the army had armed themſelves, they advanced to the ſupport of the guard; which the town's people ſeeing, loſt courage, and ran away as faſt as they could, but many remained on the field, killed and priſoners. Among the laſt was ſir Henry de Spinefort, who being brought to the earl of Montfort, he determined to ſend him to the inhabitants of the town, to demand their ſurrender, or he would hang the knight before the gates; for he had heard how very much he was beloved by them.

Upon this demand the commonalty had a long conſultation. They loved ſir Henry much, and greatly compaſſionated him: they had alſo made but very ſcanty proviſion for enduring a long ſiege, ſo that they wiſhed to accept the terms offered; but

the higher ranks of citizens would not agree to them, for they had laid in ample ſtores. This occaſioned a quarrel among them; and, as thoſe of the higher ranks were nearly allied to each other, they withdrew themſelves on one ſide, and ſaid aloud, that all who were of this opinion ſhould come to them: ſo many were of their way of thinking, and connected with them, that they amounted to full two thouſand againſt accepting the earl's propoſals.

When the lower ſorts ſaw this, they began to ſtir, and cried out againſt them, uſing many bad and villainous expreſſions, and at laſt fell upon them, and killed many. The citizens, perceiving their danger, begged for mercy, and promiſed to agree to whatever the people choſe. Upon this the riot ceaſed, and the people ran to open the gates, and deliver up the city to the earl of Montfort. All the inhabitants, both great and ſmall, did him homage and fealty, acknowledging him for their lord. This was done out of love to ſir Henry de Spinefort, and he was made one of the earl's council.

CHAP. LXVI.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF HENNEBON*.

THE earl entered the town of Rennes in great triumph; and he quartered his army in the fields round about it. He made up the quarrel be-

* Situated upon the river Blavet, in the dioceſe of Vannes, 37 leagues from Nantes.

tween the inhabitants, and then eſtabliſhed bailiffs, provoſts, ſheriffs, ſerjeants, and other officers. He remained in the city three days, to repoſe himſelf and army, and to conſider upon what ſteps he ſhould next take. The fourth day he decamped, and marched to one of the beſt fortified caſtles, and the ſtrongeſt town, without compariſon, in all Brittany, called Hennebon. It is ſituated near the ſea, and a river runs round about it in deep trenches.

When ſir Henry de Spinefort was informed of his intentions, he began to be alarmed leſt ſome miſchance ſhould befal his brother, who was governor of that place, and, taking the earl aſide, ſaid to him, 'Sir, you have admitted me to the honour of your council, and I have ſworn fealty to you. I perceive that you mean to ſit down before Hennebon: I think it, therefore, my duty to inform you, that the town and caſtle are ſo ſtrongly fortified, that it will not be ſo eaſily won as you may think. You may lye before it a whole year, and never conquer it by dint of force: but if you will put your confidence in me, I will point out a method by which you may gain it. It is proper to uſe artifice when ſtrength is of no avail. You will give me, if you pleaſe, five hundred men at arms, for me to act with as I ſhall think proper: I will advance with them half a league before your army, with the banner of Brittany diſplayed. As ſoon as my brother, who is commandant of the town and caſtle, ſhall ſee the banner of Brittany, and diſtinguiſh me, I am ſure he will open the gates, which I will enter and ſeize, as well as the town and caſtle, and arreſt my brother, whom I will give up to your will, if he will not fol-

low my advice, under your promiſe of honour that you will not do him any bodily harm.'

'No, by my head, I will not,' replied the earl; 'and you have hit upon a lucky expedient. I love you more than before for it, and ſhall be charmed with you, if you can bring it about that I may be maſter of the town and caſtle.'

Sir Henry de Spinefort, and his party, amounting to full five hundred armed men, took leave of the earl, and, in the evening, came before Hennebon. As ſoon as Oliver de Spinefort knew of his arrival, he permitted him and his forces to enter the gates, and went down the ſtreet to meet him. When ſir Henry ſaw him approach, he ſtept forward, and, taking hold of him, ſaid, 'Oliver, you are my priſoner.' 'How is this?' replied Oliver: 'I truſted in you, and thought you were come here to help and aſſiſt me in defending this town and caſtle.' 'Sweet ſir,' ſaid ſir Henry, 'things do not go on in that manner. I take poſſeſſion of this place for the earl of Montfort, who, at this moment, is duke of Brittany; to whom I, as well as the greater part of the country, have ſworn fealty and homage; and you will, I am ſure, do the ſame, for it will be more agreeable to do it out of love than through compulſion, and my lord, the earl will think himſelf the more obliged to you for it.'

Oliver was ſo much preſſed and intreated by his brother, that he conſented to his propoſals, and confirmed it to the earl, who entered the town triumphantly, which is a large place, and a good ſeaport.

After having taken poſſeſſion of the town and ſtrong caſtle, he placed in both, men at arms, for their garriſons. He then advanced towards Vannes, and was ſo active in treating with the inhabitants, that they ſurrendered it, and ſwore fealty and homage, as to their true lord. He eſtabliſhed, in that town, all manner of municipal officers, and tarried there three whole days.

When he departed, he marched to beſiege a very ſtrong caſtle, called La Roche Perion, the governor of which was the lord Oliver de Cliſſon, couſin-german to the lord of Cliſſon *.

The earl remained before it more than ten days, without being able to find out any means to gain this caſtle, it was ſo ſtrong, nor obtain any parley or conference with the governor, ſo that he might attempt to gain him to his obedience, either by promiſes or by threats. He, therefore, left it, until he ſhould have a greater force, and went to beſiege another caſtle, ten leagues off, called the caſtle of Aurai. Sir Geoffry de Maleſtroit was governor of it, and he had, for his companion, ſir Yves de Triſiguidi. The earl made two aſſaults upon it, but he ſaw he ſhould loſe more than he could gain: he conſented to a truce, and a day of parley, through the earneſt ſolicitation of ſir Hervé de Léon, who at that time was with him.

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* The Hiſtoire de la Bretagne, by pere Morice, a benedictine monk, ſays, that Oliver de Cliſſon was the true lord de Cliſſon.

The parley was ſo managed, that every thing was amicably adjuſted, and the two knights ſwore fealty and homage to the earl, who immediately departed, after having appointed them as his governors of the caſtle and of the ſurrounding country, and went toward a ſtrong caſtle in that neighbourhood, called Goy la Foreſt.

He who was governor of it, perceiving that the earl had a ſtrong force, and that all the country was ſubmitting itſelf to him, by the advice and remonſtrances of ſir Hervé de Léon (with whom he had formerly been companion at arms in Pruſſia, Grenada, and in many other foreign countries), yielded it up to the earl, and ſwore fealty and homage to him, who continued him as governor of the place. He then went to Carhaix, a good town, with a ſtrong caſtle. The lord of it was a biſhop, who at the time was there: he was uncle to ſir Hervé de Léon, and by his advice and affection for him, he ſurrendered it to the earl, acknowledging him as his lord, until ſome other ſhould come, and ſhew a more juſt title to the dukedom of Brittany *.

* It was the biſhop of Quimper, Alain le Gal, who was probably on his viſitation round his dioceſe. The author of the hiſtory of Brittany before quoted, ſeems to doubt the relationſhip between the biſhop and ſir Hervé de Léon.

CHAP. LXVII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT DOES HOMAGE TO THE KING OF ENGLAND, FOR THE DUKEDOM OF BRITTANY*.

WHY ſhould I make a long ſtory of it? The earl of Montfort continued his conqueſts, gained the whole country, and was every where addreſſed as duke of Brittany. He advanced to a ſea-port town, called Roſcoff, when he diſmiſſed his troops, and ſent them to garriſon and preſerve for him the different towns he had won. He then embarked, and landed in Cornwall, at a port called Cepſee, where, upon his inquiries after the king of England, he was informed that he was at Windſor. He ſet off for that place, and was received at Windſor, by the king, queen, and all the barons at that time there, with great joy.

He explained to the king, the lord Robert d'Artois, and to all the council, the manner of his

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* Froiſſart ſeems to miſtake this homage for the one the earl of Montfort paid to the king of England as earl of Richmond, which had fallen to the king on the death of earl John. But I cannot account for this, as Froiſſart before ſays, king Edward created Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond. Montfort poſitively denied having paid any homage, when he attended the king of France, at Paris, in obedience to his ſummons. The procuration to treat with the duke of Brittany, and the powers to receive his homage for the lands appertaining to the earldom of Richmond, are given to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſir Walter Scroop, both dated the 13th March 1331.—RYMER.

ſeizing and taking poſſeſſion of the duchy of Brittany, which had devolved to him, as next heir to his brother lately deceaſed. He ſuſpected, however, that the lord Charles of Blois, and the king of France, would attempt to deprive him of it by force; for which reaſon he had come to hold the duchy of the king of England, and to do him homage for it, provided he ſhould be ſecured againſt the king of France, or any others that ſhould attempt to moleſt him in his rights.

The king of England, conſidering that his war againſt France would be ſtrengthened by this means, —that he could not have a better entry into that kingdom than through Brittany,—that the Germans and Brabanters had done nothing for him, but coſt him large ſums,—and that the lords of the empire had led him up and down, taking his money, without making any return for it,—was very happy to comply with the earl's requeſt, and received his homage for the duchy by the hand of the earl, who was called and addreſſed by the title of duke.

The king then gave him his promiſe, in the preſence of the lords who had accompanied him, as well as before thoſe barons of England that were there, that he would aid, defend, and preſerve him, as his liege man, againſt any one, the king of France, or any other, to the uttermoſt of his royal power.

Theſe promiſes and homage were written and ſealed, and each party had a copy of them.

After

After this, the king and queen made ſuch rich preſents of jewels, and other gifts, to the earl, and to thoſe who had come over with him, that they pronounced him a gallant king, and fit to reign many years in great proſperity. They afterwards took leave, embarked, and landed at Roſcoff, a town in Brittany, the place whence they had ſailed; and thence he went to Nantes, where his counteſs had remained, who told him that he had done well, and had acted wiſely.

CHAP. LXVIII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT SUMMONED BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, AT THE REQUEST OF THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS.

WHEN the lord Charles of Blois, who, by right of his wife, looked upon himſelf as lawful duke of Brittany, was informed that the earl John of Montfort was conquering, by force of arms, all the country and fortreſſes which of right belonged to him, he went to Paris, and complained of it to king Philip, his uncle.

King Philip called upon his twelve peers for their advice what was beſt to be done in this buſineſs. They recommended, that the earl of Montfort ſhould be ſent to and ſummoned, by properly qualified meſſengers, to appear at Paris, to be interrogated judicially; which was done.

The meſſengers found the earl in the city of Nantes, keeping great feaſts, which he made them partake of, and told them, he would be obedient to the

the king's commands, and would cheerfully attend them.

He made very magnificent preparations, ſet out from Nantes, and journeyed on till he came to Paris, which he entered with more than four hundred attendants on horſeback, and tarried there that day and night. On the morrow, about eight o'clock, he and his attendants mounted their horſes, and rode to the palace, where king Philip was waiting for him, ſurrounded by his twelve peers, great numbers of other barons, and the lord Charles of Blois. When the earl of Montfort was arrived at the palace, he withdrew to the chamber where the king and his barons were: he was civilly regarded and ſaluted by them. He advanced towards the king, and making him a reverence, ſaid, 'Sir, I come here in obedience to your commands and good pleaſure.' The king replied, 'Earl Montfort, I thank you for ſo doing; but I am much ſurpriſed how you could think or dare, of your own accord, to invade the duchy of Brittany, where you have no right; for there are nearer heirs than you, whom you attempt to diſinherit: and, in order the better to ſtrengthen your claim, you have been, as I am informed, to do homage for it to my enemy, the king of England.'

The earl anſwered, 'Oh dear, ſir, do not believe it; for, in good truth, you have been miſinformed: but, with regard to my claim of which you have juſt ſpoken, with all due deference to your grace, I believe you are quite miſtaken; for I know of no nearer relation to the duke, my brother, lately deceaſed,

ceaſed, than myſelf; and I ſhall not think myſelf a rebel, or be aſhamed, for not giving up my right.'

'Sir earl,' ſaid the king, 'you ſay well; but I command you, by what you now hold, and expect to hold, from me, that you quit not the city of Paris for fifteen days, when the peers and barons ſhall try this claim of relationſhip; at which time you will know what your right is: and, if you act otherwiſe, you will incur my diſpleaſure.'

'Your will ſhall be done, ſir,' anſwered the earl. He then left the court, and returned to his hotel to dinner. When he was come there, he retired to his own chamber; and having well weighed and conſidered ſome ſuſpicions he had conceived, he mounted his horſe, and ſet out for Brittany, accompanied by a very ſmall number of attendants, and arrived at Nantes, before the king or any others, except his own particular friends, knew any thing of the matter. It was imagined, ill health kept him within his hôtel.

He related to his counteſs all that had happened, and wrote, according to her advice, to all the towns and caſtles which had been ſurrendered to him; eſtabliſhed in each able captains, with plenty of ſoldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, and paid them handſomely.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIX.

THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY ADJUDGED, BY THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, TO THE LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.

IT may be eaſily conceived, that the king of France, and lord Charles de Blois, were exceedingly enraged, on hearing that the earl of Montfort had eſcaped from them. However, they waited for the expiration of the fifteen days, when the peers and barons were to give their judgment to whom belonged the duchy of Brittany.

They adjudged it wholly to the lord Charles de Blois, from the earl of Montfort, for two reaſons. One was, becauſe the wife of lord Charles de Blois, as the repreſentative of her father (who, after the laſt duke was the next brother, both by father and mother), was a nearer relation than the earl of Montfort, who was the youngeſt of theſe brothers, by another mother; which mother had never been ducheſs of Brittany; ſo that he never could deduce any claim from her. Another was, that, ſuppoſing the earl of Montfort had any legal claim to the ſucceſſion, he had forfeited it, becauſe he had done homage for it to another lord than the king of France, to whom he owed it; and alſo, becauſe he had tranſgreſſed the commands of the king of France, had broken his arreſt, and had quitted Paris without leave.

When the barons had publicly given their judgment in this affair, the king called to his nephew, the

the lord Charles de Blois, and ſaid to him, 'Good nephew, you have had adjudged to you a handſome and great heritage; make haſte to take poſſeſſion of it, and conquer it from him who wrongfully holds it; and intreat all your friends to aid and aſſiſt you in this undertaking. I will not fail you, but will lend you money in ſufficiency, and will give orders to my ſon, the duke of Normandy, to take the command of the expedition.'

The lord Charles made a profound reverence to the king, and returned him many thanks. He ſoon after requeſted the duke of Normandy his couſin, the count d'Alençon his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, the count de Blois his brother, the duke of Bourbon, the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord James of Bourbon, the count d'Eu, at that time conſtable of France, the count de Guines his ſon, the viſcount de Rohan, and all the other princes and barons then preſent, to aſſiſt him to gain his right; which they all promiſed, and ſaid they would cheerfully follow him, and their lord, the duke of Normandy, with all the forces they could collect together. Upon which every one ſet off for his own home, to make himſelf ready, and provide properly for the occaſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXX.

THE LORDS OF FRANCE ENTER BRITTANY, WITH LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.

WHEN all the lords of Normandy, the count d'Alençon, the duke of Burgundy, and the others that were to accompany the lord Charles de Blois, in his expedition to conquer Brittany, were ready, ſome of them ſet out from Paris, and the reſt from different places, in order to meet together at Angers. From thence they proceeded to Ancenis, which is at the extremity of the kingdom on that ſide. They remained there three days, for the purpoſe of arranging and ordering their army and baggage. Upon entering Brittany, they numbered their forces, and found them amount to five thouſand men at arms, without counting the Genoeſe, who were at leaſt three thouſand, under the command of three knights from Genoa: the name of one was Othes de Rae, and of another Charles Germanly *.

There was a large body of foot ſoldiers and croſs-bowmen, led on by ſir Galois de la Baume.

When the whole army had marched out of An-

* According to the Annals of Genoa, by Agoſtino Juſtiniano, I think their names ought to be, *Odoard de Dorie* and *Charles Grimaldi*.—DENYS SAUVAGE.

Villani, in his Chronique Univerſelle, makes mention of *Anton Dorie* and *Charles Grimaldi*, as captains of the Genoeſe, at the battle of Crecy.—*Idem*.

cenis,

cenis, they advanced towards a very ſtrong caſtle, ſituated upon a high mountain, called Châteauceaux, on the borders of Brittany, which was very well provided with men and ammunition. It was under the command of two knights from Lorraine; one called ſir Giles, and the other ſir Valerian.

The lords of France, on drawing near to this caſtle, were of opinion to beſiege it; for if they left a place of ſuch ſtrength behind them, it would do them much harm. They therefore ſurrounded it, and made many aſſaults, particularly the Genoeſe, who were eager to ſhew themſelves at the onſet, and loſt many of their men; for thoſe within made ſo gallant a defence, that theſe gentlemen remained a long time before it without any ſucceſs. At laſt, however, they brought ſuch quantities of great beams and faggots as filled up the ditches, ſo that they could get to the foot of the walls of the caſtle, and attack it with greater vigour.

The beſieged flung down upon them ſtones, hot lime, and brands of fire, notwithſtanding which, their opponents advanced cloſe to the walls, having ſecured themſelves by means of large beams, ſo that they could mine the walls under cover. Upon this the caſtle was ſurrendered, the lives and effects of the garriſon being ſpared.

When the lords of France had thus gained the caſtle, the duke of Normandy, as commander in chief, gave it up to lord Charles de Blois, as appertaining to him of right, who placed a garriſon there, with a ſufficient force to guard it and the neigh-

neighbouring country, and alſo to conduct ſuch troops after him as might arrive *.

They then advanced towards Nantes, which is the principal town of Brittany, and where their enemy, the earl of Montfort, had fixed his reſidence.

The marſhals of the army, and the advanced guard, came to a tolerable good town, ſurrounded with ditches, which they immediately attacked. Thoſe within were not very numerous, nor well armed; conſequently the town was ſoon taken and pillaged: one half of it was burnt and the inhabitants ſlain. This town was called Carquefou, and is about four or five leagues from Nantes. The lords remained for the night in that neighbourhood: the next day they advanced to Nantes, which they laid ſiege to, and pitched their tents and pavilions.

The men at arms in the city, who were very numerous, and the citizens, having perceived this, haſtened to arm themſelves, and went to the different poſts aſſigned them for defending their town.

The army before it, having fixed upon their quarters, went out a foraging; and ſome of the Genoeſe and foot ſoldiers advanced, as far as the barriers, to ſkirmiſh. Several young men of the town with a few ſoldiers ſallied out to meet them,

* The hiſtorian of Brittany ſays, the French kept this place, and that king John gave it as an appanage to his ſon, Lewis count d'Anjou. Charles V. acknowledged that it belonged to the dukes of Brittany, and gave it back.

and many were ſlain on both ſides. Skirmiſhes were continually going on as long as the army remained before it.

One morning, ſome of the ſoldiers and citizens ſallied forth, to ſeek adventures. They met about fifteen carts loaded with proviſions, going to the army, conducted by ſixty perſons. Thoſe from the town were two hundred. They fell upon them, ſeized the carts, and ſlew many. Thoſe that eſcaped fled to the army, and related what had paſſed; when immediately a detachment was ſent to reſcue the priſoners. They came up with them near the barriers: the affray then became more ſerious; for thoſe from the army multiplied ſo quickly, that the citizens had enough to do. However, they took the horſes from the carts, and drove them into the town, that if their opponents ſhould gain the field, they might not ſo eaſily carry off the waggons or proviſions. Other ſoldiers came out from the town, to help their friends and relations: it became every moment more ſevere, and of a long continuance: many were killed and wounded on both ſides. At length, ſir Hervé de Léon perceived it was time to retreat: for, by ſtaying, they might loſe more than they could gain: he therefore ordered thoſe of the town to retire in the beſt manner they could; but they were ſo cloſely purſued, that numbers were killed, and more than two hundred burgeſſes of the town taken priſoners.

The earl of Montfort was very angry at this, and blamed ſir Hervé much for having ordered the

retreat

retreat ſo ſoon. Sir Hervé took this to heart, and would never attend the councils of the earl, as he had been formerly uſed to do; which conduct ſurpriſed many.

CHAP. LXXI.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKEN PRISONER AT NANTES, AND THE MANNER OF HIS DEATH

IT came to paſs, as I have heard it related, that the burgeſſes, ſeeing their property deſtroyed both within and without the town, and their children and friends thrown into priſon, were fearful leſt worſe might happen to them: they therefore aſſembled privately, and, in their meetings, came to a determination to treat in an underhand manner, with the lords of France, about obtaining a peace, ſecuring their property, and delivering their children and friends out of priſon.

Their propoſals were acceded to; and their friends were to be ſet at liberty, upon condition that they would allow them to paſs through one of the gates of the town, to attack the caſtle, and ſeize the earl of Montfort, without doing hurt, either to the city or to any of the inhabitants.

There were ſome people who ſeemed to ſay, that this treaty was brought about through the ſolicitation of ſir Hervé de Léon (who had formerly been one of the earl's chief adviſers), out of revenge for having been menaced and blamed by him, as before related.

By this means they entered the city, accompanied by as many as they choſe, went ſtraight to the caſtle, broke down the gates, and took the earl of Montfort, whom they carried off to their camp, without injuring houſe or inhabitant in the city. This event took place in the year of grace 1341, about All-Saints day.

The lords of France entered the city in great triumph; when all the burgeſſes and inhabitants did homage and fealty to the lord Charles de Blois, as to their true lord. They continued in the city for three days, keeping great feaſts *: they adviſed the lord Charles to remain there, and in its neighbourhood, until another ſeaſon, and to employ the ſoldiers of the garriſons from the places he had won in the moſt advantageous manner.

Theſe lords then took their leave and departed, and rode on till they came to Paris, where the king was, to whom they delivered up the earl of Montfort, as his priſoner. The king confined him in the tower of the Louvre at Paris, where he remained for a length of time, and at laſt died there, as it has been told me for a truth †.

I wiſh

* The French remained at Nantes until the 18th December; and the earl of Montfort ſurrendered the town himſelf to the duke of Normandy, on learning what were the real diſpoſitions of the townſmen, and knowing he could not longer depend on them. It is ſaid, he was deceived by the fine ſpeeches of the duke, who promiſed, on oath, to deliver to him again the town of Nantes, in the ſame ſtate he received it, and granted him paſſports, &c.—*Hiſt. of Brittany.*

† Froiſſart has been miſinformed. 'It was about this time (1345) that the earl of Montfort found means to eſcape from

I wiſh now to return to the counteſs of Montfort, who poſſeſſed the courage of a man, and the heart of a lion. She was in the city of Rennes when ſhe heard of the ſeizure of her lord; and, notwithſtanding the great grief ſhe had at heart, ſhe did all ſhe could to comfort and reanimate her friends and ſoldiers: ſhewing them a young child, called John after his father, ſhe ſaid, 'Oh, gentle-

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from the tower of the Louvre, where he had been confined upwards of three years. Some perſons, touched with compaſſion, diſguiſed him as a merchant, and aſſiſted him in his eſcape. He went directly to England, and found king Edward at Weſtminſter, who had juſt written to the pope, to complain of the infractions Philip de Valois was making on the truce concluded at Maleſtroit, and to explain the reaſons he had for declaring war againſt him. He was ſolely occupied with the great armament he was preparing againſt France, and on the war he intended to carry on in Gaſcony. Nevertheleſs, he thought proper to grant ſome troops to the earl of Montfort, to ſupport him againſt Charles de Blois; the command of which he gave to William Bohun, earl of Northampton, whom he had nominated his lieutenant-general, as well in Brittany as in France.

'The earl of Montfort, before he quitted England, paid homage liege to the king, for the duchy of Brittany, at Lambeth, in the apartment of the archbiſhop, in preſence of the earl of Northampton, and ſeveral other lords.

'He embarked with the troops for his duchy—made an unſucceſsful attack on Quimper, which he did not long ſurvive. He died the 26th September, 1345, in the caſtle of Hennebon, and was firſt buried in the church of the Holy Croſs at Kimperlé, but was afterwards transferred to the church of the Dominicans, in the ſame town. Before his death he made a will, and appointed the king of England guardian to his ſon John of Brittany.'—*Hiſt. de Bretagne.*

men, do not be caſt down by what we have ſuffered through the loſs of my lord: he was but one man. Look at my little child here: if it pleaſe God, he ſhall be his reſtorer, and ſhall do you much ſervice. I have plenty of wealth, which I will diſtribute among you, and will ſeek out for ſuch a leader, as may give you a proper confidence.'

When the counteſs had, by theſe means, encouraged her friends and ſoldiers at Rennes, ſhe viſited all the other towns and fortreſſes, taking her young ſon John with her. She addreſſed and encouraged them in the ſame manner as ſhe had done at Rennes. She ſtrengthened her garriſons both with men and proviſions, paid handſomely for every thing, and gave largely wherever ſhe thought it would have a good effect. She then went to Hennebon, near the ſea, where ſhe and her ſon remained all that winter; frequently viſiting her garriſons, whom ſhe encouraged, and paid liberally.

CHAP. LXXII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND, FOR THE THIRD TIME, MAKES WAR UPON THE SCOTS.

IT has been mentioned before, how the lords of Scotland, during the ſiege of Tournay, had retaken many towns and fortreſſes from the Engliſh, which they poſſeſſed in Scotland. There only remained to them the caſtles of Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick.

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The Scots had laid ſiege to the caſtle of Stirling, aſſiſted by ſome French lords, whom king Philip ſent to aid them in their wars, and had preſſed it ſo cloſely, that the Engliſh garriſon found great difficulty in holding it out.

When the king of England was returned into his own country, he thought it adviſable to make an incurſion into Scotland, which he immediately ſet about, and began his march between Michaelmas and All-Saints. He iſſued out his ſummons for all archers and men at arms to follow him to York. The Engliſh put themſelves in motion to obey his commands, and came to the place appointed.

The king arrived at York, where he remained waiting for his forces, who followed him very quickly.

When the Scots heard of the king's arrival at York, they puſhed on the ſiege of Stirling with the greateſt vigour; and by engines and cannons ſo preſſed the garriſon, that they were forced to ſurrender it, preſerving their lives, but not their effects. This intelligence was brought to the king, where he lay. He began his march towards Stirling, and came to Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, where, and in the neighbouring villages, he quartered his army, and continued upwards of a month, waiting for their purveyances, which had been embarked between All-Saints and St. Andrew's day.

Many of their ſhips were loſt; and they had ſuſtained ſuch contrary winds, that they were driven upon the coaſts of Holland and Friezeland, in ſpite

of all their efforts, ſo that very few arrived at Newcaſtle. On which account the army of the king of England, which conſiſted of ſix thouſand cavalry and forty thouſand infantry, were in very great diſtreſs, and proviſions exceedingly ſcarce. They could not advance farther, as the winter was ſet in, and no forage or proviſions to be had; for the Scots had ſecured all the cattle and corn in their fortreſſes.

The Scottiſh lords, who, after the conqueſt of Stirling, had retired to the foreſt of Jedworth, underſtanding that the king of England was come to Newcaſtle with a large force, to burn and deſtroy their country, collected together, to conſider of the beſt means to defend themſelves. They were not very numerous, and had carried on the war, night and day, for more than ſeven years, without a leader, very much to their own diſcomfort: and, ſeeing there was not any expectation of receiving ſuccour from their own king, they determined to ſend to the king of England a biſhop and an abbot, to ſolicit a truce.

Theſe ambaſſadors ſet out, and came to Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, where they found the king ſurrounded by his barons; to whom, having come with a ſafe conduct, they explained ſo handſomely their miſſion, that a truce was granted them for four months, upon condition that the Scots ſhould ſend meſſengers to king David in France, and ſignify to him, that if, in the month of May following, he did not return to his own country, with powers ſufficient to

defend it againſt king Edward, they would own themſelves ſubject to the king of England, and never more acknowledge him for their lord.

Upon this, the two prelates returned to Scotland, when the Scots ordered ſir Robert de Veſci and ſir Simon Frazer, with two other knights, to ſet off for France, to inform the king of theſe conditions.

The king of England, who had remained at Newcaſtle with his whole army in a very uncomfortable manner, on account of the ſcarcity of proviſions and other ſtores, the more readily granted this truce: he immediately ſet off homewards, and diſmiſſed all his troops.

The ambaſſadors from Scotland to France took their way through England, and croſſed the ſea at Dover.

King David, who had remained ſeven years in France, knowing that his country had been much deſolated, and that his people had ſuffered exceedingly, determined to take his leave of the king of France, and return to his own kingdom, to endeavour to comfort and aſſiſt them. He therefore had ſet out, accompanied by his queen, before theſe ambaſſadors arrived, and had embarked at another port, under the guidance of a mariner called ſir Richard the Fleming *, ſo that he landed in the port of Moray, in Scotland, before any of the lords knew of it †.

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* Malcolm Fleming of Cummirnald.

† David II., with his conſort, Johanna of England, landed, from France, at Inverbervie, in Kincardineſhire, 4th May, 1341.—*Annals of Scotland.*

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIII.

KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND ADVANCES WITH A LARGE ARMY TO NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

WHEN the young king David was landed in his own country, his ſubjects came to him in crowds; and with great joy and ſolemnity they conducted him to the town of Perth. Thither came people from all parts to ſee him, and to caroúſe: they afterwards remonſtrated with him, upon the deſtruction which king Edward and the Engliſh had done to Scotland.

King David told them he would have ample revenge, or he would loſe his kingdom, and his life into the bargain. By the advice of his council, he ſent meſſengers to all his friends, far and near, to beg and intreat they would aid and aſſiſt him in this enterprize.

The earl of Orkney was the firſt who obeyed the ſummons: he was a great and powerful baron, and had married king David's ſiſter. There came with him many men at arms.

Many other barons and knights came from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark: ſome out of affection and friendſhip, and others for pay. There were ſuch numbers from all parts, that, when they were arrived at Perth and its neighbourhood, on the day which king David had appointed, they amounted to ſixty thouſand men on foot, and three thouſand men more mounted on galloways, with arms, knights, and ſquires: in ſhort, all the nobility and gentry of Scotland.

When

When they were ready, they ſet out, to do as much miſchief as poſſible to their neighbours in England; for the truce was expired; or to fight with the king who had deſtroyed their country.

They left, therefore, the town of Perth, in regular order, and came the firſt night to Dunfermline, where they lay. On the morrow, they croſſed a ſmall arm of the ſea * hard by. When they had all paſſed, they puſhed forward, and went under Edinburgh caſtle, traverſing Scotland near to Roxburgh, where there was an Engliſh garriſon, but without making an attack upon it, for fear of loſing any of their men, or deſpoiling their artillery; not knowing what force they might have to encounter, as they propoſed doing ſome gallant deeds of renown before their return to Scotland.

They then paſſed near to the town of Berwick, but without aſſaulting it, entered the county of Northumberland, and came to the river Tyne, burning and deſtroying all the country through which they paſſed. They marched on until they were before the town of Newcaſtle, where king David and his army halted that night, in order to conſider if they could not atchieve ſomething worthy of them.

Towards day-break, ſome gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who were in the town, made a ſally out of one of the gates, in a ſecret manner, with about two hundred lances, to make an attack upon the Scots army. They fell upon one of the wings

* Probably at Queen's Ferry.

of

of the army, directly on the quarters of the earl of Moray, who bore for his arms three pillows, gules on a field argent. He was in his bed when they took him priſoner, and killed a great many before the army was awakened. Having made a very large booty, they regained the town, which they entered with great joy and triumph, and delivered up the earl of Moray to the governor, the lord John Neville *.

When the army was awakened and armed, they ran like madmen towards the town, even to the barriers, where they made a fierce aſſault, which laſted a conſiderable time. It availed them, however, nothing but the loſs of their people; for the town was well provided with men at arms, who defended themſelves valiantly and prudently, which obliged the aſſailants to retire with loſs.

CHAP. LXXIV.

KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND TAKES AND DESTROYS THE CITY OF DURHAM.

WHEN king David and his council ſaw that their ſtay before Newcaſtle was dangerous, and that they could neither gain profit nor honour, they departed, and entered the biſhoprick of Durham,

* He was afterwards exchanged for the earl of Saliſbury, made priſoner by the French in the neighbourhood of Liſle. The French would not releaſe Saliſbury, unleſs he made oath, never to bear arms in France; and Edward III. conſented to this extraordinary condition, 20th May 1342.

Annals of Scotland, vol. 2. p. 210.

burn,

burning and deſtroying as they marched. They came before the city of Durham, which they laid ſiege to, and made many attacks upon it, like men diſtracted in revenge for the loſs of the earl of Moray; and they alſo knew that very great wealth was carried into it by all the inhabitants of the country who had fled thither.

They, therefore, were every day more earneſt in their attacks; and the king of Scotland ordered ſome engines to be made, that they might approach to aſſault them nearer the walls.

When the Scots had marched from before Newcaſtle, the governor, lord John Neville, mounted a fleet courſer, paſſed by them, for he was as well acquainted with all the bye roads and paſſes as a native, and made ſuch haſte, that in five days he came to Chertſey, where the king of England then was, and related to him all that the Scots were doing.

The king ſent out immediately his meſſengers, ordering all knights, ſquires, and others, that were able to aſſiſt him, above the age of 15, and under 60 years, without fail, upon hearing theſe orders, to ſet out directly towards the marches of the north, to ſuccour and defend the kingdom againſt the Scots, who were deſtroying it.

Upon this, earls, barons, knights, and the commonalties from the provincial towns, made themſelves ready, and haſtened moſt cheerfully to obey the ſummons, and advance towards Berwick.

The king himſelf ſet off directly, ſuch was his impatience, without waiting for any one; and he

was

was followed by his ſubjects, as faſt as they could, from all parts.

During this time, the king of Scotland made ſo many violent attacks with the engines he had conſtructed upon the city of Durham, that thoſe who were within could not prevent it from being taken, pillaged, and burnt. All were put to death without mercy, and without diſtinction of perſons or ranks, men, women, children, monks, canons, and prieſts; no one was ſpared, neither was there houſe or church left ſtanding. It was pity thus to deſtroy, in Chriſtendom, the churches wherein God was ſerved and honoured.

CHAP. LXXV.

THE KING OF SCOTLAND BESIEGES WARK CASTLE, BELONGING TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

WHEN the king of Scotland had done this, he was adviſed to fall back upon the river Tyne *, and retreat towards Scotland. As he was on the march, he halted one night hard by a caſtle belonging to the earl of Saliſbury, which was well furniſhed with men at arms. The captain of it was ſir William Montacute, ſon to the ſiſter of the earl, and ſo called after an uncle who had that name.

* As Wark caſtle is ſituated on the Tweed, it muſt be the Tweed, inſtead of Tyne. I have, in conſequence, altered Scotland for Carliſle, as it is in the original: otherwiſe, it would be incorrect as to the geography of the country.

When

When the night was paſſed, king David decamped, to purſue his march to Scotland; and the Scots paſſed through roads cloſe to this caſtle, heavily laden with the booty which they had made at Durham.

As ſoon as ſir William ſaw that they had paſſed the caſtle without halting, he ſallied out of it well armed on horſeback, with about forty companions, and followed in ſilence the laſt diviſion, which conſiſted of horſes ſo loaded with money and riches that they could ſcarcely get on, and came up with them at the entrance of a ſmall wood; when he and his companions fell upon them, killed and wounded upwards of two hundred, and took one hundred and twenty horſes very richly laden, which they drove towards the caſtle.

The cries and the runaways ſoon reached the lord William Douglas, who commanded the rear-guard, and had already paſſed the wood.

Whoever at that time had ſeen the Scots return full gallop, over mountain and valley, with ſir William Douglas at their head, would have been alarmed. They made ſuch haſte that they ſoon came to the caſtle, and aſcended the hill on which it is ſituated with great expedition; but as they came to the barriers, thoſe within had cloſed them, and placed what they had ſeized in ſafety. The Scots commenced a violent aſſault, and the garriſon defended themſelves well: the two Williams did all they could deviſe to hurt each other. This laſted until the whole army, and even the king himſelf, arrived there.

When the king and his council ſaw their people lying dead, and the aſſailants ſore wounded, without gaining any thing, he ordered them to deſiſt, and to ſeek out for quarters; for he was determined not to leave the place before he had ſeen his men revenged.

Upon this every one was employed in ſearching out where he could lodge himſelf, to collect the dead, and to dreſs the wounded.

The king, on the morrow, ordered all to be ready for the attack of the caſtle: thoſe within prepared themſelves to defend it. This aſſault was very fierce and perilous, and many gallant deeds were performed.

The counteſs of Saliſbury, who was eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful and virtuous women in England, was in this caſtle, which belonged to the earl of Saliſbury, who had been taken priſoner, with the earl of Suffolk, near Liſle, and was ſtill in priſon at the Châtelet in Paris. The king had given him this caſtle, upon his marriage, for his many deeds of valour, and for the ſervices he had received from the ſaid earl, who was formerly called ſir William Montacute, as appears in another part of this book.

This counteſs comforted much thoſe within the caſtle; and from the ſweetneſs of her looks, and the charm of being encouraged by ſuch a beautiful lady, one man in time of need ought to be worth two.

This attack laſted a conſiderable time, and the Scots loſt a great many men; for they advanced boldly up to it, and brought large trees and beams to fill up the ditches, that they might bring their machines,

machines, if poſſible, nearer, to play upon the caſtle: but the garriſon made ſo good a defence, that they were forced to retreat; and the king ordered the machines to be watched, to renew the attack the next day. Each retired to their quarters, except thoſe who guarded the machines: ſome bewailed the dead, others comforted the wounded.

Thoſe of the caſtle ſaw that they had too hard a taſk, for they were much fatigued; and, if king David were ſteady to his purpoſe, they ſhould have difficulty to defend it. They therefore thought it adviſable to ſend ſome one to king Edward, who was arrived at Berwick, which they knew for truth from ſome of the Scots priſoners they had taken, and were looking out for a proper perſon for this buſineſs; for not one would agree to quit the defence of the caſtle, or of the beautiful lady, in order to carry this meſſage, and there was much ſtrife among them: which, when their captain, ſir William Montacute, ſaw, he ſaid, 'I am very well pleaſed, gentlemen, with your loyalty and heartineſs, as well as for your affection to the lady of this houſe; ſo that, out of my love for her and for you, I will riſk my perſon in this adventure. I have great confidence and truſt in you, and that you will defend the caſtle until I ſhall return. On the other hand, I have the greateſt hopes in our lord the king, and that I ſhall bring back with me, ſpeedily, ſuch ſuccour, to your great joy, that you will all be rewarded for the gallant defence you ſhall have made.'

This ſpeech cheered both the counteſs and all preſent. When night came, ſir William prepared himſelf the beſt way he could, to get out of the caſtle privately, and unſeen by any of the Scots. Fortunately for him, it rained ſo very hard all that night, that none of them quitted their quarters: he therefore paſſed through the army without being noticed.

Shortly after, and about day-break, he met, on his road, two Scotſmen, half a league from their army, driving thither two oxen and a cow: ſir William, knowing them to be Scotſmen, wounded them both very ſeverely, killed the cattle, that they might not carry them to the army, and ſaid to them, 'Go and tell your king, that William Montacute has paſſed through his army, and is gone to ſeek for ſuccour from the king of England, who is now at Berwick.'

When the Scots lords heard this, they ſaid to one another, 'The king often makes his men be wounded and killed without any reaſon;' and, believing that the king of England would come to give them battle before they ſhould gain the caſtle, they went in a body to the king, and told him, that his longer ſtay there would neither bring him honour nor profit; that their expedition had turned out exceedingly well, and that they had done much miſchief to the Engliſh by remaining in their country twelve days, and burning and deſtroying the city of Durham; that, every thing conſidered, it was now proper for them to return to their own kingdom and homes, and carry off ſafe the booty they had made: and that, at another ſeaſon, they would

follow him to England, according to his will and pleaſure.

The king did not chooſe to act contrary to the opinions of his chieftains, but conſented to their advice, ſore againſt his will. On the morrow, he and his whole army decamped, and marched ſtraight to the foreſt of Jedworth, where the wild Scots lived at their eaſe; for he was deſirous of knowing what the king of England meant to do, whether he would return to his own kingdom, or advance farther northward*.

CHAP. LXXVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ENAMOURED WITH THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

THAT ſame day that the Scots had decamped from before the caſtle of Wark, king Edward, and his whole army, arrived there about mid-day,

* All this ſeems to be fabulous, and to have been invented by ſome perſon who meant to impoſe on the inquiſitive credulity of Froiſſart. It cannot be reconciled with known hiſtorical dates, with the characters and conditions of the perſons therein mentioned, or with the general tenor of authenticated events. Had David violated the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, in the ſavage manner related by Froiſſart, the Engliſh hiſtories would have teemed with declamations on an enormity, more heinous, in the opinion of thoſe days, than any crime prohibited by the decalogue. Beſides, the ſacking of Durham related by Froiſſart, was an event too ſingular and momentous to be altogether omitted; and yet the Engliſh hiſtorians make no mention of it; neither does Fordun, whoſe ſimple narration I have choſen to follow.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 211.

and took up their poſition on the ground which the Scots had occupied. When he found that they were returned home, he was much enraged; for he had come there with ſo much ſpeed, that both his men and horſes were ſadly fatigued.

He ordered his men to take up their quarters where they were, as he wiſhed to go to the caſtle to ſee the noble dame within, whom he had never ſeen ſince her marriage. Every one made up his lodgings as he pleaſed; and the king, as ſoon as he was diſarmed, taking ten or twelve knights with him, went to the caſtle, to ſalute the counteſs of Saliſbury, and to examine what damage the attacks of the Scots had done, and the manner in which thoſe within had defended themſelves.

The moment the counteſs heard of the king's approach, ſhe ordered all the gates to be thrown open, and went to meet him, moſt richly dreſſed; inſomuch, that no one could look at her but with wonder, and admiration at her noble deportment, great beauty, and affability of behaviour. When ſhe came near the king, ſhe made her reverence to the ground, and gave him her thanks for coming to her aſſiſtance, and then conducted him into the caſtle, to entertain and honour him, as ſhe was very capable of doing.

Every one was delighted with her: the king could not take his eyes off her, as he thought he had never before ſeen ſo beautiful or ſprightly a lady; ſo that a ſpark of fine love ſtruck upon his heart, which laſted a long time, for he did not believe that the whole world produced any other lady ſo worthy of being beloved.

Thus

Thus they entered the caſtle, hand in hand: the lady led him firſt into the hall, then to his chamber, which was richly furniſhed, as belonging to ſo fine a lady. The king kept his eyes ſo continually upon her, that the gentle dame was quite abaſhed. After he had ſufficiently examined his apartment, he retired to a window, and leaning on it, fell into a profound reverie.

The counteſs went to entertain the other knights and ſquires, ordered dinner to be made ready, the tables to be ſet, and the hall ornamented and dreſſed out. When ſhe had given all the orders to her ſervants ſhe thought neceſſary, ſhe returned, with a cheerful countenance, to the king, who continued muſing, and ſaid to him, 'Dear ſir, what are you muſing on? So much meditating is not proper for you, ſaving your grace: you ought rather to be in high ſpirits, for having driven your enemies before you, without their having had the courage to wait for you, and ſhould leave the trouble of thinking to others.' The king replied, 'Oh, dear lady, you muſt know, that ſince I have entered this caſtle, an idea has ſtruck my mind that I was not aware of; ſo that it behoves me to reflect upon it. I am uncertain what may be the event, for I cannot withdraw my whole attention from it.' 'Dear ſir,' replied the lady, 'you ought to be of good cheer, and feaſt with your friends, to give them more pleaſure, and leave off thinking and meditating; for God has been very bountiful to you in all your undertakings, and ſhewed you ſo much favour, that you are the moſt feared and renowned prince in Chriſtendom.

If the king of Scotland have vexed you by doing harm to your kingdom, you can, at your pleaſure, make yourſelf amends at his expenſe, as you have done before: therefore come, if you pleaſe, into the hall to your knights, for dinner will ſoon be ready.'

'Oh, dear lady,' ſaid the king, 'other things touch my heart, and lie there, than what you think of; for, in truth, the elegant carriage, the perfections and beauties which I have ſeen you poſſeſs, have very much ſurpriſed me, and have ſo deeply impreſſed my heart, that my happineſs depends on meeting a return from you to my flame, which no denial can ever extinguiſh.'

'Sweet ſir,' replied the counteſs, 'do not amuſe yourſelf in laughing at, or tempting me; for I cannot believe you mean what you have juſt ſaid, or that ſo noble and gallant a prince as you are would ever think to diſhonour me or my huſband, who is ſo valiant a knight, who has ſerved you faithfully, and who, on your account, now lies in priſon. Certainly, ſir, this would not add to your glory; nor would you be the better for it. Such a thought has never once entered my mind, and I truſt in God it never will, for any man living: and, if I were ſo culpable, it is you who ought to blame me, and have my body puniſhed, through ſtrict juſtice.'

The virtuous lady then quitted the king, who was quite aſtoniſhed, and went to the hall to haſten the dinner. She afterwards returned to the king, attended by the knights, and ſaid to him, 'Sir, come to the hall; your knights are waiting for you, to

waſh

waſh their hands, for they, as well as yourſelf, have too long faſted.'

The king left his room, and came to the hall; where, after he had waſhed his hands, he ſeated himſelf, with his knights, at the dinner, as did the lady alſo: but the king ate very little, and was the whole time penſive, caſting his eyes, whenever he had an opportunity, towards the counteſs. Such behaviour ſurpriſed his friends; for they were not accuſtomed to it, and had never ſeen the like before. They imagined, therefore, that it was by reaſon of the Scots having eſcaped from him.

The king remained at the caſtle the whole day, without knowing what to do with himſelf. Sometimes he remonſtrated with himſelf, that honour and loyalty forbad him to admit ſuch treaſon and falſehood into his heart, as to wiſh to diſhonour ſo virtuous a lady, and ſo gallant a knight as her huſband was, and who had ever ſo faithfully ſerved him. At other times, his paſſion was ſo ſtrong, that his honour and loyalty were not thought of. Thus did he paſs that day, and a ſleepleſs night, in debating this matter in his own mind.

At day-break he aroſe, drew out his whole army, decamped, and followed the Scots, to chace them out of his kingdom. Upon taking leave of the counteſs, he ſaid, 'My dear lady, God preſerve you until I return; and I intreat, that you will think well of what I have ſaid, and have the goodneſs to give me a different anſwer.' 'Dear ſir,' replied the counteſs, 'God, of his infinite goodneſs, preſerve you,

and drive from your heart ſuch villainous thoughts; for I am, and always ſhall be, ready to ſerve you, conſiſtently with my own honour and with yours.'

The king left her quite ſurpriſed, and went with his army after the Scots, following them almoſt as far as Berwick, and took up his quarters four leagues diſtant from the foreſt of Jedworth, where, and in the neighbouring woods, king David and all his people were. He remained there for three days, to ſee if the Scots would venture out to fight with him. During that time there were many ſkirmiſhes; many killed and taken priſoners on both ſides. Sir William Douglas, who bore for arms argent on a chef azure*, was always among the foremoſt in theſe attacks. He performed many gallant exploits, and was a great annoyance to the Engliſh.

CHAP. LXXVII.

THE EARLS OF SALISBURY AND MORAY ARE SET AT LIBERTY, IN EXCHANGE FOR EACH OTHER.

DURING theſe three days, there were ſome diſcreet men on both ſides, who held conferences, in order, if poſſible, to conclude a peace between the two kings: at laſt they ſucceeded in obtaining a

* The moſt prominent feature in the Douglas arms, as now borne, is the Heart, which was added in conſequence of the honour conferred by Robert Bruce on his death-bed, as has been already related: but when this diſtinctive mark was adopted, I believe is uncertain.

truce

truce for two years, provided the king of France aſſented to it; for there was ſo cloſe an alliance between the kings of Scotland and France, that he could not make peace, or a truce, without the king of France agreed to it.

If king Philip ſhould refuſe his conſent, then the truce was to laſt only until the firſt day of May. The earl of Moray was to have his liberty, if the king of Scotland could obtain that of the earl of Saliſbury from the king of France. This was to be done by the feaſt of St. John the Baptiſt.

The king of England conſented the more readily to this truce, becauſe he was carrying on war in France, Gaſcony, Poitou, Saintonge, and Brittany, and had ſoldiers every where.

The king of Scotland then departed, and ſent ambaſſadors to the king of France, that the truce might be confirmed. The king agreed to it, and ſent the earl of Saliſbury immediately into England; when, as ſoon as he arrived, the king of England ſent the earl of Moray to king David in Scotland.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

LORD CHARLES BLOIS, WITH SOME OTHER LORDS OF FRANCE, TAKE THE CITY OF RENNES.

YOU before have heard how the duke of Normandy, the duke of Burgundy, the duke d'Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, the conſtable of France, the earl of Guines his ſon, ſir James de Bourbon, ſir Lewis d'Eſpagne, and the other

other barons and knights from France, had left Brittany, after conquering the ſtrong caſtle of Châteauceaux, and the city of Nantes, and had taken and given up to the king of France the earl of Montfort, whom he had confined in the tower of the Louvre at Paris.

The lord Charles of Blois had remained in the city of Nantes, and in that country, which he had reduced to obedience, until a more favourable opportunity for carrying on the war than winter. When the ſummer was returned, the above-mentioned lords, and a great many others, came, with a large army, to aſſiſt the lord Charles in reconquering the remainder of the duchy of Brittany. They reſolved to beſiege the city of Rennes, which the counteſs of Montfort had well fortified, and placed there as captain ſir William de Cadoudal, a Breton.

The French lords ſurrounded it on all ſides, and did a great deal of damage, by the fierce aſſaults they made upon it; but the garriſon defended themſelves ſo valiantly, that their opponents loſt more than they gained.

As ſoon as the counteſs of Montford was informed of the return of the French lords into Brittany, with ſo great a force, ſhe ſent ſir Amauri de Cliſſon to king Edward in England, to intreat his aſſiſtance, upon condition that her young ſon ſhould take for his wife one of the daughters of the king, and give her the title of ducheſs of Brittany.

The king, at that time, was in London, feaſting the earl of Saliſbury, newly returned from priſon. When ſir Amauri de Cliſſon had made known to the king

king the cauſe of his viſit, his requeſt was directly complied with. The king ordered ſir Walter Manny to collect as many men at arms as ſir Amauri ſhould judge proper, and to make every poſſible haſte to go to the aſſiſtance of the counteſs of Montfort; and alſo to take with him two or three thouſand of the beſt archers of England.

Sir Walter, therefore, embarked with ſir Amauri de Cliſſon; and with them went the two brothers de Land-Halle, ſir Lewis and ſir John, le Haze of Brabant, ſir Herbert de Freſnoi, ſir Alain de Sirefonde, and many others, with ſix thouſand archers. But they were overtaken by a great tempeſt, and, by contrary winds, forced to remain on the ſea forty days.

The lord Charles, in the mean time, kept Rennes cloſely beſieged, and haraſſed the citizens ſo much, that they would willingly have ſurrendered it; but ſir William de Cadoudal would not liſten to them. When they had been harder preſſed, and ſaw no likelihood of any ſuccours arriving, they became impatient; but ſir William continued firm: at length the commonalty ſeized him, flung him into priſon, and ſent information to lord Charles that they would ſurrender themſelves to him on the morrow, on condition that all thoſe who were of the Montfort party might retire in ſafety to wherever they thought proper. The lord Charles complied with theſe terms; and thus was the city of Rennes ſurrendered, in the year 1342, in the beginning of May. Sir William de Cadoudal, not deſiring to remain at the court of the lord Charles of Blois, left it, and

went

went to Hennebon, where the counteſs of Montfort was, who had not had any tidings of Sir Amauri de Cliſſon, or of his company.

CHAP. LXXIX.

THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS BESIEGES THE COUNTESS OF MONTFORT, IN HENNEBON.

SOON after the ſurrender of Rennes, and when the inhabitants had performed their homage and fealty to lord Charles of Blois, he was adviſed to ſet out for Hennebon, where the counteſs of Montfort reſided; for as her huſband was ſafe confined at Paris, if he could but get poſſeſſion of her perſon, and of her ſons, the war muſt be concluded.

The counteſs had with her in Hennebon, the biſhop of Léon, uncle to ſir Hérve de Léon, who was attached to lord Charles, and had ever been ſo ſince the capture of the earl of Montfort; ſir Yves de Treſiquidi, the lord of Landreman, the before-mentioned ſir William de Cadoudal, the governor of Guingamp, the two brothers de Quirich, ſir Oliver, and ſir Henry de Spinefort, and many others.

When the counteſs and her knights heard that their enemies were coming to beſiege them, and that they were hard by, they ordered the alarm bells to be rung, and every one to arm himſelf for defending the town.

Lord Charles drew near to Hennebon, and then encamped his men. Some of the youths among the Spaniards, French and Genoeſe advanced to the barriers

barriers to ſkirmiſh; which thoſe from the town ſeeing, ſallied out to meet them: ſo there was a ſharp conflict, and the Genoeſe loſt more than they gained. About veſpers, they all retired to their different quarters.

On the morrow, the lords determined to make an aſſault on the barriers, to ſee what mien thoſe within had, and to try to gain ſome advantage. On the ſecond day, therefore, they made ſo very vigorous an attack upon the barriers early in the morning, that thoſe within made a ſally: among them were ſome of their braveſt, who continued the engagement till noon with great courage; ſo that the aſſailants retired a little to the rear, carrying off with them numbers of wounded, and leaving behind them a great many dead. When the lords of France perceived their men retreat, they were much enraged, and made them return again to the aſſault more fiercely than before: whilſt thoſe of the town were in earneſt to make a handſome defence.

The counteſs, who had clothed herſelf in armour, was mounted on a war horſe, and galloped up and down the ſtreets of the town, intreating and encouraging the inhabitants to defend themſelves honourably. She ordered the ladies and other women to unpave the ſtreets, carry the ſtones to the ramparts, and throw them on their enemies. She had pots of quick lime brought to her for the ſame purpoſe.

That ſame day the counteſs performed a very gallant deed: ſhe aſcended a high tower, to ſee how her people behaved; and, having obſerved that all

the

the lords and others of the army had quitted their tents, and were come to the aſſault, ſhe immediately deſcended, mounted her horſe, armed as ſhe was, collected three hundred horſemen, ſallied out at their head by another gate that was not attacked, and, galloping up to the tents of her enemies, cut them down, and ſet them on fire, without any loſs, for there were only ſervants and boys, who fled upon her approach.

As ſoon as the French ſaw their camp on fire, and heard the cries, they immediately haſtened thither, bawling out, 'Treaſon! treaſon!' ſo that none remained at the aſſault. The counteſs, ſeeing this, got her men together, and, finding that ſhe could not re-enter Hennebon without great riſk, took another road, leading to the caſtle of Breſt, which is ſituated near.

The lord Lewis of Spain, who was marſhal of the army, had gone to his tents, which were on fire; and, ſeeing the counteſs and her company galloping off as faſt as they could, he immediately purſued them with a large body of men at arms. He gained ſo faſt upon them, that he came up with them, and wounded or ſlew all that were not well mounted; but the counteſs, and part of her company, made ſuch ſpeed that they arrived at the caſtle of Breſt, where they were received with great joy.

On the morrow, the lords of France, who had loſt their tents and proviſions, took council, if they ſhould not make huts of the branches and leaves of trees near to the town, and were thunderſtruck when

when they heard that the counteſs had herſelf planned and executed this enterpriſe: whilſt thoſe of the town, not knowing what was become of her, were very uneaſy; for they were full five days without gaining any intelligence of her.

The counteſs, in the mean while, was ſo active, that ſhe aſſembled from five to ſix hundred men, well armed and mounted, and with them ſet out, about midnight, from Breſt, and came ſtraight to Hennebon about ſun-riſe, riding along one of the ſides of the enemy's hoſt, until ſhe came to the gates of the caſtle which were opened to her: ſhe entered with great triumph, and ſounds of trumpets and other warlike inſtruments, to the aſtoniſhment of the French, who began arming themſelves, to make another aſſault upon the town, while thoſe within mounted the walls to defend it.

This attack was very ſevere, and laſted till paſt noon. The French loſt more than their opponents: and then the lords of France put a ſtop to it, for their men were killed and wounded to no purpoſe. They next retreated, and held a council whether the lord Charles ſhould not go to beſiege the caſtle of Aurai, which king Arthur had built and incloſed. It was determined he ſhould march thither, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, ſir Robert Bertrand, marſhal of France; and that ſir Hervé de Léon was to remain before Hennebon with a part of the Genoeſe under his command, and the lord Lewis of Spain, the viſcount of Rohan, with the reſt of the Genoeſe and Spaniards. They ſent for twelve large machines

which

which they had left at Rennes, to caſt ſtones and annoy the caſtle of Hennebon; for they perceived that they did not gain any ground by their aſſaults.

The French divided their army into two parts: one remained before Hennebon, and the other went to beſiege the caſtle of Aurai. The lord Charles of Blois went to this laſt place, and quartered all his diviſion in the neighbourhood: and of him we will now ſpeak, and leave the others. The lord Charles ordered an attack and ſkirmiſh to be made upon the caſtle, which was well garriſoned: there were in it full two hundred men at arms, under the command of ſir Henry de Spineſort and Oliver his brother.

The town of Vannes, which held for the counteſs of Montfort, was four leagues diſtant from this caſtle; the captain whereof was ſir Geoffry de Maleſtroit.

On the other ſide, was ſituated the good town of Guingamp, of which the captain of Didant was governor, who was at that time with the counteſs in the town of Hennebon; but he had left, in his hôtel at Dinant, his wife and daughters, and had appointed his ſon, ſir Reginald, as governor during his abſence. Between theſe two places there was a caſtle* which belonged to the lord Charles, who

* La Roche Perion. This Dinant is a different place from the town of the ſame name, in the dioceſe of St. Malo.—*Hiſt. de Bretagne.*

I ſhould imagine, it muſt be St. Sauveur de Dinan, which is a village in Brittany.

had

had well filled it with men at arms and Burgundian ſoldiers.

Girard de Maulin was maſter of it; and with him was another gallant knight, called ſir Peter Portebœuf, who haraſſed all the country round about, and preſſed theſe two towns ſo cloſely that no proviſions or merchandize could enter them, without great riſk of being taken; for theſe Burgundians made conſtant excurſions, one day towards Vannes, and another day to Guingamp. They continued theſe excurſions ſo regularly, that ſir Reginald de Dinan took priſoner, by means of an ambuſcade, this ſir Girard de Maulin and thirty-five of his men, and at the ſame time reſcued fifteen merchants and all their goods, which the Burgundians had taken, and were driving to their garriſon, called la Roche Perion; but ſir Reginald conquered them, and carried them priſoners to Dinan, for which he was much praiſed.

We will now return to the counteſs of Montfort, who was beſieged by ſir Lewis of Spain in Hennebon. He had made ſuch progreſs by battering and deſtroying the walls with his machines, that the courage of thoſe within began to faulter. At that moment, the biſhop of Léon held a conference with his nephew, ſir Hervé de Léon, by whoſe means, it has been ſaid, the earl of Montfort was made priſoner.

They converſed on different things, in mutual confidence, and at laſt agreed, that the biſhop ſhould endeavour to gain over thoſe within the town, ſo that it might be given up to the lord

Charles: and ſir Hervé, on his ſide, was to obtain their pardon from the lord Charles, and an aſſurance that they ſhould keep their goods, &c. unhurt. They then ſeparated, and the biſhop re-entered the town.

The counteſs had ſtrong ſuſpicions of what was going forward, and begged of the lords of Brittany, for the love of God, that they would not doubt but ſhe ſhould receive ſuccours before three days were over. But the biſhop ſpoke ſo eloquently, and made uſe of ſuch good arguments, that theſe lords were in much ſuſpenſe all that night. On the morrow he continued the ſubject, and ſucceeded ſo far as to gain them over, or very nearly ſo, to his opinion; inſomuch that ſir Hervé de Léon had advanced cloſe to the town to take poſſeſſion of it, with their free conſent, when the counteſs, looking out from a window of the caſtle towards the ſea, cried out, moſt joyfully, 'I ſee the ſuccours I have ſo long expected and wiſhed for coming.' She repeated this expreſſion twice; and the town's people ran to the ramparts, and to the windows of the caſtle, and ſaw a numerous fleet of great and ſmall veſſels, well trimmed, making all the ſail they could towards Hennebon. They rightly imagined, it muſt be the fleet from England, ſo long detained at ſea by tempeſts and contrary winds.

CHAP. LXXX.

SIR WALTER MANNY CONDUCTS THE ENGLISH INTO BRITTANY.

WHEN the governor of Guingamp, ſir Yves de Treſiquidi, ſir Galeran de Landreman, and the other knights, perceived this ſuccour coming to them, they told the biſhop that he might break up his conference, for they were not now inclined to follow his advice. The biſhop, ſir Guy de Léon, replied, 'My lords, then our company ſhall ſeparate; for I will go to him who ſeems to me to have the cleareſt right.' Upon which he ſent his defiance to the lady, and to all her party, and left the town to inform ſir Hervé de Léon how matters ſtood. Sir Hervé was much vexed at it, and immediately ordered the largeſt machine that was with the army to be placed as near the caſtle as poſſible, ſtrictly commanding that it ſhould never ceaſe working day nor night. He then preſented his uncle to the lord Lewis of Spain, and to the lord Charles of Blois, who both received him moſt courteouſly.

The counteſs, in the mean time, prepared, and hung with tapeſtry, halls and chambers, to lodge handſomely the lords and barons of England whom ſhe ſaw coming, and ſent out a noble company to meet them. When they were landed, ſhe went herſelf to give them welcome, reſpectfully thanking each knight and ſquire, and led them into the town and caſtle, that they might have convenient

lodging: on the morrow, ſhe gave them a magnificent entertainment. All that night, and the following day, the large machine never ceaſed from caſting ſtones into the town.

After the entertainment, ſir Walter Manny, who was captain of the Engliſh, inquired of the counteſs the ſtate of the town and of the enemy's army. Upon looking out of the window, he ſaid, he had a great inclination to deſtroy that large machine which was placed ſo near, and much annoyed them, if any would ſecond him. Sir Yves de Treſiquidi replied, that he would not fail him in this his firſt expedition; as did alſo the lord of Landreman. They went to arm themſelves, and then ſallied quietly out of one of the gates, taking with them three hundred archers; who ſhot ſo well, that thoſe who guarded the machine fled; and the men at arms who followed the archers, falling upon them ſlew the greater part, and broke down and cut in pieces this large machine. They then daſhed in among the tents and huts, ſet fire to them, and killed and wounded many of their enemies before the army was in motion. After this, they made a handſome retreat.

When the enemy were mounted and armed, they galloped after them like madmen. Sir Walter Manny, ſeeing this, exclaimed, 'May I never be embraced by my miſtreſs and dear friend, if I enter caſtle or fortreſs before I have unhorſed one of theſe gallopers.' He then turned round, and pointed his ſpear towards the enemy, as did the two brothers of Lande-Halle, le Haze de Brabant,

ſir Yves de Treſiquidi, ſir Galeran de Landreman, and many others, and ſpitted the firſt courſers. Many legs were made to kick the air. Some of their own party were alſo unhorſed. The conflict became very ſerious, for reinforcements were perpetually coming from the camp; and the Engliſh were obliged to retreat towards the caſtle, which they did in good order until they came to the caſtle ditch: there the knights made a ſtand, until all their men were ſafely returned. Many brilliant actions, captures, and reſcues might have been ſeen.

Thoſe of the town who had not been of the party to deſtroy the large machine now iſſued forth, and, ranging themſelves upon the banks of the ditch, made ſuch good uſe of their bows, that they forced the enemy to withdraw, killing many men and horſes.

The chiefs of the army, perceiving they had the worſt of it, and that they were loſing men to no purpoſe, ſounded a retreat, and made their men retire to the camp. As ſoon as they were gone, the townſmen re-entered, and went each to his quarters.

The counteſs of Montfort came down from the caſtle to meet them, and with a moſt cheerful countenance, kiſſed ſir Walter Manny, and all his companions, one after the other, like a noble and valiant dame.

CHAP. LXXXI.

THE CASTLE OF CONQUET* TWICE TAKEN.

THE next day, the lord Lewis of Spain called to him the viſcount de Rohan, the biſhop of Léon, ſir Hervé de Léon, and the commander of the Genoeſe, to have their advice what was to be done; for they ſaw how ſtrong the town of Hennebon was, and that ſuccours had arrived there, particularly thoſe archers who had always diſcomfited them.

If they remained longer, it would be but loſt time; for there was not the ſmalleſt appearance that they could gain any advantage; they therefore reſolved to decamp on the morrow, and make for Aurai, which the lord Charles was beſieging. They broke up their huts and tents, and ſet off, as they had before determined: the town's people, purſuing them with hootings, and attempting to haraſs their rear, were driven back, and loſt ſome of their men before they could re-enter the town.

When the lord Lewis of Spain was come to lord Charles with his army and baggage, he explained to him the reaſons why he had quitted the ſiege of Hennebon. It was then determined, by a full and long council, that the lord Lewis ſhould march to beſiege the good town of Dinant, which was only defended by a paliſade and ditch. During his march, he paſſed near an old caſtle called Conquêt, in which the counteſs had placed as governor, a

* Le Conquêt, a ſeaport town in Brittany, five leagues from Breſt.

Nor-

Norman knight of the name of Mencon, who had with him many ſoldiers.

The lord Lewis drew up his army, and made an aſſault upon it, which was very ſharp, and laſted until midnight; for thoſe within defended themſelves well. Finding he then could not do more, he lay with his men before it, and renewed the attack on the morrow. The aſſailants came quite cloſe up to the walls, for the ditch was not deep, and made a large breach in them; through which they entered, and put all to death, except the governor, whom they made priſoner. They appointed another in his room, and left with him ſixty ſoldiers to guard it. Then the lord Lewis departed, and marched to lay ſiege to Dinant.

The counteſs of Montfort, upon hearing that the lord Lewis of Spain was with his army before Conquêt, ſent for Sir Walter Manny and his brethren at arms, and told them, that if they could break up the ſiege before this caſtle, and diſcomfit the lord Lewis, they would obtain great glory. They aſſented to it, and, on the morrow, left Hennebon with ſo many volunteers that few remained behind.

They puſhed on till they came to the caſtle about noon, and found there the French garriſon who, the evening before, had conquered it: upon which ſir Walter ſaid, he would not leave it before he knew what they were made of, and how they had got it. But when he was informed that the lord Lewis was gone to beſiege Dinant, he was much grieved, as he ſhould not have an opportunity of fighting with him. He and his friends made ready to attack the caſtle,

and began the aſſault well covered by their ſhields. The garriſon, ſeeing ſuch a force coming againſt them, made as good a defence as they were able; but the attack was very ſevere, and the archers came ſo cloſe that they diſcovered the breach through which the caſtle had been gained the preceding evening. They alſo entered by this breach, and killed all within, except ten, whom ſome knights took under their protection. They then returned to Hennebon, for they did not think it ſafe to be at too great a diſtance from it, and left the caſtle of Conquêt without any garriſon, for they ſaw that it could make no reſiſtance.

CHAP. LXXXII.

THE LORD LEWIS TAKES THE TOWNS OF DINANT AND GUERRANDE.

TO return now to the lord Lewis; he quartered his army in haſte all round the town of Dinant, and ordered boats and veſſels to be immediately prepared, that he might attack it by ſea as well as by land. When the inhabitants of the town, which was only defended by a paliſade, ſaw this, they were much frightened, both great and ſmall, for their lives and fortunes: on the fourth day after the army had encamped before it, they ſurrendered, in ſpite of their governor, ſir Reginald de Guingamp, whom they murdered in the market place, becauſe he would not conſent to it. After the ſurrender of the town, when the lord Lewis had received the homage

homage and fealty of the citizens, he tarried there two days, and gave them for governor ſir Gerard de Maulin, whom he had found there priſoner, and the lord Peter Portebœuf, as his colleague. He then marched towards a large town, ſituated upon the ſea-coaſt, called Guerrande. He beſieged it on the land ſide, and found at Croiſic a great many boats and ſhips full of wine, which merchants had brought thither, from Poictou and Rochelle, for ſale.

The merchants ſoon ſold their wine, but they were badly paid for it: the lord Lewis ſeized theſe veſſels, in which he embarked men at arms, with ſome of the Genoeſe and Spaniards, and aſſailed the town on the morrow, by ſea and land. It was ſo ill fortified, that it could not make any defence: it therefore was ſoon taken by ſtorm, and pillaged without mercy. Men, women, and children were put to the ſword, and fine churches ſacrilegiouſly burnt: at which the lord Lewis was ſo much enraged, that he immediately ordered twenty-four of the moſt active to be hanged and ſtrangled upon the ſpot.

The booty they gained there was immenſe, every one got as much as he could carry; for the town was very rich, from its great trade.

After they had taken this town of Guerrande, they were uncertain which way they ſhould proceed to gain more: the lord Lewis therefore, in company with ſir Antony Doria and ſome other Genoeſe and Spaniards, embarked in the veſſels they had ſeized, and ſailed to ſeek adventures at ſea. The viſcount

de Rohan, the biſhop of Léon, ſir Hervé de Léon his nephew, and the others, returned to the army of the lord Charles, which was lying before Aurai.

They found there a great many lords and knights newly arrived from France; ſuch as ſir Lewis of Poictiers, count de Valence, the count d'Auxerre, the count de Porcien, the count de Joigny, the count de Boulogne, and many others, whom king Philip had ſent to their aſſiſtance: ſome had come as volunteers, to ſee the lord Charles, and to ſerve under him.

The ſtrong caſtle of Aurai was not yet won; but there was ſo ſevere a famine in it, that for the laſt ſeven days they had eaten nothing but horſe fleſh. Lord Charles would grant them no other conditions, than that they ſhould ſurrender themſelves for him to do with them as he thought proper. When they ſaw, therefore, that they could not expect any thing but death, they iſſued out, by God's will, ſilently in the night, and paſſed through one of the wings of the enemy's army. Some few were perceived, and killed: but ſir Henry de Spinefort and his brother Oliver ſaved themſelves; they eſcaped through a little wood hard by, and came to the counteſs in Hennebon.

Thus the lord Charles conquered the caſtle of Aurai, after having lain more than ten weeks before it. He had it put in good repair, well ſupplied with men at arms, and all ſorts of proviſions: he then ſet out with his army to beſiege the town of Vannes, which was commanded by ſir Geoffry de Maleſtroit, and encamped all round it.

On the morrow, ſome Bretons and ſoldiers, that lay in the town of Ploërmel, iſſued forth in hopes of gain: they fell upon the army of lord Charles, and gave them an alert; but they were ſurrounded by the enemy, loſt many of their men, and the reſt who fled were purſued as far as the gates of Ploërmel, which is near to Vannes.

When they were returned from this purſuit, they made, that ſame day, ſo violent an aſſault on the town of Vannes, that they took by ſtorm the barriers, and one of the gates of the town: there the conflict became more violent, and many were killed on both ſides. It ended with the night, when a truce was agreed upon, to laſt all the next day. The citizens aſſembled together to conſult if they ſhould ſurrender or not; and, on the morrow, they determined to ſurrender, in ſpite of their governor, who, when he ſaw this, got ſecretly out of the town, during their conferences, and went away to Hennebon. The conference ended in ſuch a manner, that the lord Charles and the lords of France entered the city, where they remained five days, and then ſet out to beſiege another town called Carhaix.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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